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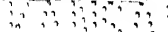
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HISTORY OF
VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE



FRANK PARSONS

HISTORY OF Vocational Guidance

Origins and Early Development

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With a chapter on the

NATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL CONFERENCE

by EDWIN A. LEE



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tone. They are Mary P. Corre, Jesse B. Davis, Robert Hoppock, Harry A. Jager, Franklin J. Keller, Harry D. Kitson, Clarence E. Partch, Donald E. Super, and Ordway Tead.

The opinion was recently expressed that the present is too early for a history in so new a field; on the contrary, it is nearly too late. By 1958, at the half-century mark for the organized movement, it would have been difficult indeed to obtain materials such as those in Chapters 4 through 9, 12, 14, 17, and 18. Hence a modest value may be claimed for this report, if only in recording what a later writer may revise, amplify, and carry forward to a later date. While I have written about the past, my only real concern, of course, is with the future of vocational guidance.

JOHN M. BREWER

Cambridge, Massachusetts
January 5, 1942

Chapter I

Social Trends Leading to Vocational Guidance

Voc. resents an interwoven pattern through which threads a gigantic human effort to secure two ends: (1) the support of the expenses of civilization, and (2) the maintenance of the individual worker himself. That first end is seldom acknowledged; if it were more often, we should have fewer temptations to think that working life must necessarily be sordid and selfish. As the Book of Ecclesiasticus has it, speaking of the common workers, "These maintain the fabric of the world, and in the handiwork of their craft is their prayer."

Homes, churches, schools and colleges, libraries, museums, cities, states, and nations—all these receive their support from the proceeds of work; work earns the wherewithal by which these institutions live. Without the toil of farm, factory, shop, and office we should lose most of the good ideas and good things of life.

Not only do the above social gains accrue from toil, but also the individual himself expresses unselfishness through his work. If a majority of the workers of the world should seriously endeavor to *get* out of their work more than they *give*, the whole social structure would fail. Fortunately they do not; whether they fully understand the philosophy of work or not, the spirit of mutuality they express is everywhere evident. And this, marvelous to remember, seems to rest merely upon the chance education that experience in a democratic society furnishes, for the schools have hardly attempted such education: witness the total neglect of the preparation of the next generation for effective and ethical labor-union membership, as well as of the ethical training of future entrepreneurs, upon whom the very safety of our private-enterprise society rests. We are not likely to reap a labor-management peace, to say nothing of world peace, until we sow the seeds of enlightenment.

Among the freedoms necessary to a truly democratic world must be included the right to work, whether guaranteed through a system of private enterprise, or through that system supplemented by public aid, or through forms of co-operative endeavor. But all rights, at least of normal adults, must be earned and paid for; otherwise, we

have anarchy or dictatorship. Responsible management and responsible labor—to each other, to the consumer, and to the government—these criteria are basic. Nor is good will alone enough; rules and traffic lights are needed, and these lights cannot always be green.

Shall we not agree, then, that if occupational life can be raised progressively to higher terms, rather than reduced to lower levels, guidance for successful experiences in that area of life activity becomes one of the most important concerns of school and society?

Vocational guidance has arisen in recent times as an attempt to assist youth in making his progress in occupational experience, with an eye to both individual success and social well-being. Between 1908 and the First World War there originated a systematic movement to impart to the young specific information and counsel as an aid to the solution of their problems in vocational adjustment. Just before and during the war psychologists began to develop tools to aid the counseling process. After the war there occurred a deepening and improvement of method and an extension of the scope of effort. The deepest industrial depression in the history of America served only to confirm and extend the scope of vocational guidance, both within the schools and outside.

With the practice of vocational guidance well begun, but still at perhaps one-tenth its possible effectiveness, the time seems opportune to survey the few years already passed and to try to discover leading principles which in future years may serve for the guidance of the guides.

The meaning of vocational guidance. The increasing habit of using nouns for adjectives makes accurate definition even more important than it used to be. Nor does the transmutation of the substantive to the adjective by the addition of the *-al* help matters. Vocation guidance, or vocational guidance, might mean any one of at least several things: guidance to understand vocations; guidance *to* but not *into* and *through* the occupation; guidance which the vocation furnishes; preparation for the calling; guiding or changing the character of the vocation; guiding persons to co-operate in bettering occupational life; helping to plan careers in occupational life. As coined by Frank Parsons in 1908, the expression "vocational guidance" meant assisting young people in planning and carrying out their working careers, with primary emphasis upon *Choosing a Vocation*, which was the title of Parsons' book. Guiding *into* and *through* vocational life and its problems—this is a sufficient characterization for our present purposes.

A combination of four "causes" basic to vocational guidance. Four conditions or agencies, among others, have, all acting together, led to the germination and development of vocational guidance. These are, first, the fact of the division of labor; second, the growth of technology; third, the extension of vocational education; and, fourth, the spread of modern forms of democracy. No one of these by itself insured the rise of vocational guidance; indeed, each existed long before vocational guidance arose and yet did not lead to its beginning. But all four together, we may fairly assert, almost made it inevitable. The first three made necessary some care for vocational adjustment; the fourth, democracy, set up an ideal requiring attention to guidance-in-the-strict-sense—offering not advice but counsel, and allowing for self-determination: freedom, within certain limits, to make one's own decisions.

The division of labor. Division of tasks is ancient in origin, though it seems not to have existed in primitive times except between the sexes and for high-ranking leaders. In earliest times *every* boy learned and followed all the common tasks. Arthur J. Todd indicates¹ that the "course of study" among primitive people included hunting, fishing, canoeing, sledding, trapping, and crude building as the predominating tasks, supplemented by training for war and work with hoe and yam stick and the care of cattle. Domestic education of girls preceded that bestowed upon the boys, their sisters early becoming miniature housewives.

It seems clear that primitive societies faced no such situation as is involved in the modern division of labor. With the possible exceptions of tribal chieftainship and priestcraft, every child learned to do and was called upon to do *every kind* of work.

With the progress of what we call civilization, and with the qualification that slaves were widely used, sometimes even for skilled labor, as witness the pedagogue, some of the men began to sail the seas, some to farm, others to trade, and still others to fight. Governors and politicians appeared, as well as an array of professional workers who possessed a background of special study in preparation for their special services.

In the first chapter of Adam Smith's *An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) occurs a vivid description of the operation of the division of labor and a dissertation on its effects. With the rise of trade and barter, Smith explains, the division of labor begins.

¹ *The Primitive Family as an Educational Agency* (1913), p. 165.

It is natural to imagine that division of labor is at the bottom of the need for vocational guidance and specialized education. It appears, however, that something more than a division of labor is necessary to explain the rise of guidance. A slave people in Egypt or Greece can develop both barter and the division of labor without the slightest need for guidance. Differentiation may occur, specialization, even training, but apportionment of tasks may take place through selection and assignment, with little or no choice on the part of the worker and with no guidance. Hence the division of labor may be a necessary condition for the rise of guidance, but not a causative condition.

The growth of technology. Another accompaniment of the progress of civilization, the use of scientific and mechanical techniques in occupational life, is intimately interwoven, both in cause and effect, with the division of labor. However, it is sometimes naïvely assumed that assignment of specialized tasks is bound to be based on differentiation of talent. Plato, it is true, in *The Republic* posited constitutional differences in natural qualities and gifts among the separate groups of his three-class state. But work in a highly technical and industrial society may be divided with little or no reference to individual differences in talents. Not even Adam Smith imagined that farmers, miners, and factory hands were of differing stuff, whether physically or mentally. Rather, they were all "hands," and could be "handled" more economically by assigning some to one kind of job for a life service, some to another.

It is true that as technical invention and technology proceeded, the run-of-the-mine man began to fail at various complicated tasks. But even then vocational guidance was not imagined. Instead of the thought that individual differences in talents and temperaments should be accounted for, a competition began among employers for the best men available—best not in any specific sense, but best in general. Thus the boasted technology was not applied even to selection and assignment. For one whole century and more "technological progress" had gone forward, steam and electricity had transformed the nation's economy, but neither vocational guidance nor personnel management was thought of.

Looking back a few decades, one is tempted to believe that the growing complications of technology would soon have made vocational guidance inevitable. Indeed, one thinks at this point of Frederick W. Taylor and what was called "scientific management." The movement for scientific management, concerned as it was with time-

Perhaps the size of this effort and the busy lives of its promoters turned the eyes of these educators away from the problem of guidance. Whatever the reason, there is evidence of a singular lack of interest, a lack which with a few notable exceptions continued for some years after vocational guidance had begun its operations. The theory of the Massachusetts law, which later became the model also for the federal-aid legislation, was that any fourteen-year-old boy who stated that he had decided to be a carpenter became qualified, at least in that particular, for vocational preparation. There is ample evidence of neglect to ask even such simple questions as: Why did you decide on carpentry? Do you know anything about its characteristics? Have you ever performed any tasks resembling those of the carpenter?

Both selection and guidance were neglected. Neither technology nor scientific management was effective in suggesting to vocational educators the proper selection of pupils. As late as the 1930's no book on the subject of vocational education had been written which gave more than passing remark to the great problem of making sure that the pupils who presented themselves for a specific form of preparation were or were not just the right individuals to receive the benefits of such preparation.

In a study of continuation children in Wisconsin³ there was food for thought. The study made clear the fact that American conditions differed from those in Germany: here a boy working in a print shop might have no real intention of becoming a printer and might next week report from a dry-goods store or a bakery, equally without specific goal. Again, follow-up studies often showed less than half of the graduates, to say nothing of the dropouts, pursuing the occupations for which they had been prepared. These experiences and others have gradually led educators who took no part in the early utilization of guidance now to look with more favor on the concepts of exploratory and tryout experiences, aptitude tests, occupational information, and educational and vocational counsel.

Professional education might well have originated vocational guidance at least thirty years before its actual advent. Colleges and universities had every logical incentive, among them the need for helping students decide which professional curriculum to enter. Yet in spite of much good that was accomplished by individual professors in guiding a few favored students there is little or no evidence that

³ Wisconsin State Board of Industrial Education, *Outlines of Lessons*, No. 10 (2nd ed.; 1914), pp. 479-480.

normal schools, medical and dental colleges, law schools, and the rest recognized any responsibility for careful selection on the basis of aptitudes and talents. Nor did they offer adequate guidance during the progress of the professional curriculum. Eighteen years after vocational guidance had begun, however, many colleges, both liberal arts and professional, had made definite if still inadequate beginnings.⁴

At the present writing one is tempted to believe that further experimentation with state-aided forms of industrial education might soon have led to vocational guidance. On every theoretical count training programs in a democratic society require guidance. It is significant that men like Professor Paul H. Hanus and Lincoln Filene, both of whom were active in organizing vocational education in Massachusetts, at once saw the significance of the proposals of Frank Parsons. Yet others equally close exhibited for many years a singular resistance to vocational guidance.

The record is clear, then, that, like the division of labor and the growth of technology, vocational education did not furnish the impetus necessary for the birth of vocational guidance.

Vocational guidance a necessity to democracy. Given the division of labor, the growth of technology, and the spread of vocational education, *plus* a form of democracy allowing for much self-determination, vocational guidance becomes inevitable. It was no accident that vocational guidance was started in the United States of America. Relatively free of the class system and of parental domination over children, equipped with educational arrangements somewhat committed to preparing children and youth for participation in democratic procedures and conditioned toward awakening them to the need for making their own decisions in many kinds of life activity, America could easily endorse a plan of vocational adjustment involving a beginning in guidance in the true meaning of the term.

We say "beginning" because we take no account of any theory of comprehensive "democracy in industry." How far we shall journey in that direction only the future can tell. But labor disturbances doubtless are partly caused by that wider striving toward individual and group self-determination in more and wider fields of life activity.

In English-speaking countries freedom of job choice was an early gain in this reaching toward self-determination. In democratic coun-

⁴Lewis Adams Maverick, *The Vocational Guidance of College Students* (1926).

tries, too, persons entering professional callings have long exercised a large measure of freedom of choice. It was not difficult, consequently, beginning with the professions, to conceive of the need for systematic assistance at least for the more promising individuals. Such assistance was often furnished by parents and guardians, and there seemed little need for work in the schools.

It was no accident, again, that vocational guidance as a widespread movement for all the population was organized by a man intensely interested in furthering refined and effective forms of democracy, particularly in city government.

Reverting to our remark on parental domination above, we must note that effective democracy in the home, if vocational guidance is to be practiced, must extend deep enough to free the young from overplanning on the part of parents.⁵ The father or mother who thinks of the child as a source of future support will yield to the temptation to select career and job for him. So tempted, also, will be the father who longs for the realization in his son's life of his own unfulfilled desires or who expects the son to repeat his own successes. Europeans feel that we in America spoil our children by allowing them too much self-direction; there may be danger in certain areas. Be that as it may, the freedom of decision makes guidance a necessity. Democracy, consent, and guidance hang together.

The truth is that democracy cannot exist without the *reasoned* consent of the governed—a consent based on intelligent decisions—in ever widening circles of activity. Young people drifting into various kinds of work on the basis of ignorance both of their own abilities and of the characteristics of occupational life present a condition menacing to free government. The economic waste of such ignorant drifting was often stressed in early arguments, and the movement for efficiency accented this line of logic; but democracy is bound to stop this waste, because, more than a waste of money, it is a waste of thinking, an erosion into the good realm of individual human life as it should be self-cultivated. By this we mean that the democratic principle implies that each person's life plan should be governed by reasoned acceptance of good, and not by force of circumstances, the suggestion of friends, or the domination of elders. *Guidance* is needed, little more.

⁵ As late as 1871, however, Jacob Abbott could write his famous book, *Gentle Measures in the Management and Training of the Young*, a plea for solemn and unbending authority, without a hint of preparation for self-direction.

Emphasis on individual differences. Before concluding the survey of possible originators, it may be asked whether the psychologists were not on the track of vocational guidance, especially in their concern with the measurement of traits and in their interest in the existence of wide differences among individuals. It is true that without such differences neither the division of labor nor democracy would make vocational guidance of much importance. But the fact remains that the psychologists and their researches did not lead to the origination of a systematic plan for guidance; the plan came from the work of the publicist, the social worker, the teacher, the promoter of adult education. Whether or not the Binet-Simon beginnings in 1902 and the attempts at tests of vocational proficiency by Münsterberg and others would ultimately have led to vocational guidance, if Frank Parsons had not intervened, must forever remain an interesting speculation, with some evidence on either side of the question.

One set of events of great significance bears on the relation between psychology and vocational guidance: the selection of personnel for the various kinds of services in the First World War. Less than a decade after Parsons began his work the psychologists carried forward their monumental helpfulness through the development of their war tools. They devised intelligence tests, rating systems, trade tests. These experiences, of course, came to be translated into terms for use in guidance. But, while a few psychologists caught the full significance of guidance as an aid to self-management, many seemed to carry over with them into what they called vocational guidance the *personnel* psychology of *selection* through diagnosis and advice, and seemed but little interested in or concerned with the use of true education and the ideal of democracy. The movement for vocational guidance is still suffering from a confusion of the two viewpoints, much as it has gained from the contributions of the psychologists.

A study of the situation forces the conclusion that, while the practice of vocational guidance has been greatly aided through the researches of the psychologists, in no sense can it be said that experimental or theoretical psychology contributed to its actual origin.

Did progressive movements in education contribute? In the quest for the origins of vocational guidance it is natural to explore progressive education and such reorganization plans as are represented by the junior high school. In his lectures of 1899, published as *The School and Society*, John Dewey says:

Make each one of our schools an embryonic community life, active with types of occupations that reflect the life of the larger society, and permeated throughout with the spirit of art, history, and science.

This the Francis Parker School and other institutions did, but they seem not to have envisioned vocational guidance. The word "occupations" in the Dewey quotation means "activities" rather than samples of vocational exercises. Manual arts were used as participation in social experiences and the satisfaction of interests, rather than for the specific purpose of discovering talent leading to choice of life occupation.

Much effective guidance, vocational and other, went on in and resulted from the progressive forms of education, but this seems to have been incidental rather than purposeful. At all events it cannot be maintained that vocational guidance grew out of such activities.

What shall be said about early efforts in Europe? European writings on vocational guidance nearly always fail to deal with definitions, assuming apparently that any help to the individual, however prescriptive, is "guidance." Thus, *Problems of Vocational Guidance*, issued by The International Labour Office,⁶ speaks of the interest of Plato, Montaigne, and Pascal in the problem of selection and adjustment, and of the Padre Orpheus, an institution operating in Spain from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century for the care of orphans and the selection of trades for them. The *Guide pour le choix d'un état* (referred to again in Chapter 3), which was issued in France in 1842, is erroneously stated to be the first work of its kind. Taylor's interest in scientific management and in "selecting the workers best suited for each type of activity" is mentioned. The writer then states that "scientific work in the field of experimental psychology immediately preceded, and was perhaps partly responsible for, the rise of vocational guidance." In spite of the phrase, "perhaps partly," we find no slightest evidence to support this suggestion.

Selecting persons to fill jobs cannot be called vocational guidance; if it could, then the first careful employer was exercising it. Select-

⁶ Studies and Reports, Series J (Education), No. 4, 1935; distributed by P. S. King & Son, London, and The World Peace Foundation, New York City. This pamphlet consistently makes the youth the passive agent of "guidance."

A careful reading of Franklin J. Keller and Morris S. Viteles, *Vocational Guidance Throughout the World* (1937), reveals that even thirty years after Parsons there are few indications that the principle of democracy in the home and economic life of the nation is strong enough to give the child the self-determination that is a prerequisite for true guidance.

ing an occupation for a young person is not guidance; if it were, then the first careful parent was the first guide. True vocational guidance assists the individual in obtaining experience and knowledge of himself and experience in and knowledge about the problems and opportunities of the world of occupations, tests and counsels him in order to help him select a calling and an appropriate training agency, and endeavors to fit him to follow through to the achievement of a satisfactory career.⁷

An interesting book, *Vocational Guidance in Catholic Secondary Schools*, by Sister Teresa Gertrude Murray (1938), traces vocational guidance back to St. Benedict's *Rule* of the sixth century. The *Regula Monachorum* as applied in the training schools of St. Gall is cited. It is true that elaborate procedures in technical education were set up and carried out; doubtless many of these features, had they been extended and perpetuated, might have had continuing usefulness. Tryout and information are suggested in the *Rule* (Chapter 58, page 99): "One on coming to the religious life should not find the entrance made easy, but as the apostle saith, 'Try the spirits, if they be of God.'" At three periods, after two, six, and eight months, the *Rule* was read to the applicant; each time he was given the opportunity to decide whether or not he would continue.

Did pseudoguidance offer any contribution? Again, is it possible that phrenology, palmistry, astrology, and other pseudosciences, by their attention to advice on careers, attracted notice to the need for vocational guidance and thus aroused men like Parsons to develop a genuine plan? In reply to the question one can only say that there is no evidence to support such a hypothesis. Information about Frank Parsons is ample, and he was a man of many interests, but there is no evidence available that he had any interest in the pseudosciences. Phrenology was still investigated by serious-minded persons in the eighties and nineties, but Parsons seems not to have given it serious thought. His arguments in prospectuses and reports and in his book are based on concepts of human waste, differences in talents, democracy, and human happiness. One guesses that he would have been receptive to arguments for versatility of talents as contrasted with the stock argument of the phrenologists and others that the *one* exact vocation must be found and followed.

Should the history of pseudoguidance be written? Doubtless

⁷This is based upon the assumption that *guidance* differs from *direction*, and *counseling* from *advice*—at least from positive advice upon large matters such as the selection of a calling.

an exciting romance might be composed recounting chronologically the doings of the astrologists, palmists, crystal-gazers, handwriting analysts, will-power advocates, card prophets, physiognomists, and phrenologists. The last named were especially active a hundred years ago (Horace Mann was interested) and frequently directed their clients into vocations. And the character readers were quick to take advantage of the growing interest in guidance, their lurid advertisements appearing in many magazines of repute.

But no logical story can be made out of illogical material; we shall therefore forego any attempt to include the stargazers or other such in this account. A proposal was made at the convention of the National Vocational Guidance Association in 1917 to attempt to curb them by law, but fortunately such an implement for free advertisement did not prevail. Though the pseudoguides have led countless individuals astray, it seems safe to say that they have never seriously retarded the movement for genuine vocational guidance.

Did the ministry begin vocational guidance? In our early chapters will be found some references to the addresses and writings of clergymen prior to 1908. Inspiration they have given, but there is no evidence of systematic thought or activity along the line of vocational guidance. After Parsons' early effort, however, certain Sunday schools and young people's societies became active in guidance, and Christian associations were quick to make beginnings. But neither the Y.M.C.A. nor the churches inaugurated vocational guidance.

Did placement originate vocational guidance? Securing a job is one of the important items in the series of vocational adjustments—manifestly an indispensable one. Securing jobs may grow out of: (1) the initiative of the workers, (2) the demands of the employer, or (3) the offices of a third party, whether placement counselor or employment agency. An enthusiastic writer once called placement "the alpha and omega of vocational guidance": the alpha because securing jobs for children furnishes the facts upon which earlier steps in guidance may be based, the omega because it consummates and effectuates the whole process of guidance.

But if vocational guidance had been originated and organized out of the act of placement it would now be several centuries old. The truth is, placement has continuously been carried on with little attention to the need for guidance, and placement workers, while often effective, intelligent, and conscientious, never developed imagination enough to think out the other procedures comprised in the

series of services called vocational guidance. While on a backward view it seems that the incentive to full comprehension must have been very great, the spark did not appear, the scroll did not unroll.

What happened before the beginning? Was there a definite "beginning"? It would be fatuous to assert that here occurred a brand-new idea and a new movement began. "Actual origins elude us," says Cheyney;⁸ "everything is the outcome of something preceding; the immediate, sudden appearance of something, its creation by an individual or a group at one moment in time, is unknown in history." While later exposition will amply prove that 1908 and Frank Parsons have a unique place in this particular history, we must first bow to the fact that our researches have turned up many prior hints.

So insistent down the ages has been the ever recurring question, "What shall I do?" that it was inevitable that thinkers and writers should grapple with the problem suggested. We shall show that the "success literature" of Smiles and Marden did so in their stories of "poor boys who became famous," that books setting forth arrays of occupational opportunities were published over a hundred years ago, that a Glasgow author of 1835 states that his book was used in the schools, that a book issued in Philadelphia in 1836 added exercises in textbook form and suggested school use, that writers of fiction gave vivid examples of the need for guidance, and that one writer thirty years before Parsons proposed the setting up of the profession of "vocopher"—a counselor to select the occupation for an individual.

Cicero in his essay *On Duties* (Book I, Chapters 32-33), in the first century B.C., states that "we must decide what manner of men we wish to be and what calling in life we would follow; and this is the most difficult problem in the world." His succeeding observations are still helpful; he assumed self-determination for the individual.

Dickens in Chapter 13 of *Bleak House* (1853) gives a striking portrait of the need for guidance. In it is depicted a youth who, with no self-knowledge, agrees to nearly all the suggestions put before him regardless of their contradictory nature. The following is a significant extract from the novel:

We held many consultations about what Richard was to be. . . . He

⁸ E. P. Cheyney, "Law in History" (President's address before the American Historical Association, December 1923), *American Historical Review*, January 1924, p. 237.

had been eight years at a public school, and had learnt, I understood, to make Latin Verses of several sorts, in the most admirable manner. But I never heard that it had been anybody's business to find out what his natural bent was, or where his failings lay, or to adapt any kind of knowledge to *him*. *He* had been adapted to the Verses, and had learnt the art of making them to such perfection, that if he had remained at school until he was of age, I suppose he could only have gone on making them over and over again, unless he had enlarged his education by forgetting how to do it. Still, although I had no doubt that they were very beautiful, and very improving, and very sufficient for a great many purposes of life, and always remembered all through life, I did doubt whether Richard would not have profited by some one studying him a little, instead of his studying them quite so much.

John Locke says in Section 66 of *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1695) :

He therefore that is about Children, should well study their Natures and Aptitudes, and see, by often Trials, what Turn they easily take, and what becomes them; observe what their native Stock is, how it may be improv'd, and what it is fit for; He should consider, what they want; whether they be capable of having it wrought into them by Industry, and incorporated there by Practice; and whether it be worthwhile to endeavour it. For in many Cases, all that we can do, or should aim at, is, to make the best of what Nature has given; to prevent the Vices and Faults to which such a Constitution is most inclin'd, and give it all the Advantages it is capable of. Every one's natural Genius should be carry'd as far as it could; but to attempt the putting another upon him, will be but Labour in vain; and what is so plaister'd on, will at best sit but untowardly, and have always hanging to it the Ungracefulness of Constraint and Affectation.

Guidance more than supervision. It is of special importance for this history to note the general tone of this last quotation: that it fails to connote self-activity on the part of the individual. Locke's expression, "what they want," means of course what they *lack*, not what they desire. Free choice is not intended. This is human engineering or personnel work rather than vocational guidance. Just so the statements of Plato and of many others of former times frequently quoted as advocating vocational guidance need similar critical examination. Many present-day workers in education do not make the distinction sufficiently clear; they seem to favor diagnosis and prescription, or diagnosis and advice, as contrasted with true guidance, which furnishes assistance in self-discovery together with

counsel on the possible alternatives, all of which leads to self-engendered decisions.

Certainly one of the earliest instances of vocational supervision written in the English language is from Langland's *The Vision of Piers Plowman* (circa 1362).⁹ The author meets Reason, who "arates" him for his indolence, and then enumerates various jobs which he suggests to him: mowing, reaping, sheaving, shaping of shoes and clothes, tending of sheep, pigs, and geese.

Thenne havest thou londes to lyve by, quathe Reson,
other lynage ryche
That fynden the thy fods?

The author answers Reason that he does not do work of that sort because he is tonsured. This, he says, frees him from the necessity of having "to cart and to worche."

"Pegs" and "holes" in vocational guidance. Akin to explanations based on a too rigid and restrictive view of guidance is the oft-repeated analogy of pegs and holes. *Punch* once attributed this figure to Bishop Berkeley, but evidently it belongs to Sydney Smith¹⁰ who gave it in his lecture¹¹ "On the Conduct of the Understanding" a century before Parsons. The full quotation, which has no significant contextual reference, is as follows:

It is a very wise rule in the conduct of the understanding to acquire early a correct notion of your own peculiar constitution of mind, and to become well acquainted, as a physician would say, with your *idiosyncrasy*. Are you an acute man, and see sharply for small distances? or are you a comprehensive man, and able to take in wide and extensive views into your mind? Does your mind turn its ideas into wit? or are you apt to take a common-sense view of the objects presented you? Have you an exuberant imagination, or a correct judgment? Are you quick, or slow? accurate, or hasty? a great reader, or a great thinker? It is a prodigious point gained if any man can find out where his powers lie, and what are his deficiencies,—if he can contrive to ascertain what Nature intended him for: and such are the changes and chances of the world, and so difficult is it to ascertain our own understandings, or those of others, that most things are done by persons who could have done something else better. If you choose to represent the various parts in

⁹ Adapted from J. J. Jusserand, *Piers Plowman* (1894).

¹⁰ See Burton Stevenson, *Home Book of Quotations* (1935), p. 119.

¹¹ In *Elementary Sketches of Moral Philosophy*, delivered at the Royal Institution in 1804, 1805, and 1806, by Rev. Sydney Smith, M.A. (1864), p. 109. Note that the word "peg" is not used.

life by holes upon a table, of different shapes,—some circular, some triangular, some square, some oblong,—and the persons acting these parts by bits of wood of similar shapes, we shall generally find that the triangular person has got into the square hole, the oblong into the triangular, and a square person has squeezed himself into the round hole. The officer and the office, the doer and the thing done, seldom fit so exactly, that we can say they were almost made for each other.

Since 1908 it has been many times pointed out that neither men nor jobs are fixed things and that therefore such an analogy is invalid. It is of some significance in our discussion of vocational guidance as an inevitable accompaniment of a democratic society offering large opportunity unrestricted by class traditions that Mark Twain, U.S.A., should have referred to this analogy in suggesting that pegs can change themselves. He puts the matter as follows:¹²

A round man cannot be expected to fit a square hole right away. He must have time to modify his shape.

An educational service. Vocational guidance consists in the crystallizing of right human desires vaguely felt for long years and in the shaping up of informal procedures carried on for centuries. These wishes and informal procedures have only during the present century come to fruition. As we shall see shortly this fruition has taken the form of an educational effort usually within the frame of comprehensive forms of school and college procedures. Begun as a social service, it rapidly became educational. Claimed as a psychological technique, it has expanded to consist of a number of kinds of experiences, knowledges, and wisdoms designed to guide the young person to guide himself. Declared by the ultrascientific educator to be the application and integration of an array of highly specialized techniques, it has proved itself as more than the sum of several parts, in fact as no less than one of the best hopes and aspirations of human life. Utilizing the facilities of the social worker and the technical tools of the psychologist, vocational guidance weaves a pattern truly educational.

How were these matters unrolled in time and space; how did they come to be? Were they significant when they happened? More important, are they significant now and will they continue to be so in the future?

¹² Stevenson, *op. cit.*: Samuel L. Clemens ("Mark Twain"), *More Tramps Abroad*, sometimes called *Following the Equator* (1897), Chap. 71.

Chapter II

Success Literature Before 1908: Inspirational and Biographical

IT WAS inevitable in the experience of those who accepted the doctrines of *The Wealth of Nations* that a belief in the personal-success motive should flourish. Fortified by the theory that the welfare of the group will best be served by the successful selfishness of the individual, John Doe, entrepreneur, proceeded to tighten up his belt for the race to make money. If England was already a nation of shopkeepers, it now became a nation of large-scale exploiters, while the common people were promoted from serfs on the soil to "wage slaves" in the mines and factories. Augmented by the inventive application of steam, the exploitation of coal and iron opened the modern age. Exuberance and profits on the one hand, hopelessness and poverty on the other, were its characteristics.

Success literature, which flourishes during periods of economic prosperity, arose to guide the ambitious individual, and some of these early writings must be surveyed to understand the substitutes for vocational guidance that were offered and, indeed, still persist.

An important book of 1673. Obediah Walker, Master of University College, Oxford University, wrote *Of Education, Especially of Young Gentlemen*. The rest of the title-page reads merely, "Oxon, at the Theatre, 1673." After the fashion of the day the book does not bear the author's name in any of the six editions.¹ A prefatory statement states that

the most useful Knowledge is that of a Man's self; and this depends upon that more universal consideration of, *Quid homo potest*; naturally, and artificially, *i.e.*, what Abilities are in us originally, by the Gift of God; and what attainable by our own Industry. And both these in order to *Knowledge* or *Action*. To advance this Discovery, it is hoped that these Papers may contribute some Hints and Steps.

There are chapters on manners, frugality, home, health, travel,

¹ The last edition is dated 1699. Walker (1611-1699) was the author also of books on theology and elocution. We are indebted to Dean Clarence E. Partch for the discovery of this book.

In 1757 a Boston publisher printed a 16-page prospectus, *Proposed for the Press*, with descriptive matter and quotations, offering to publish this book in America if a sufficient number of subscribers would respond; evidently nothing came of the plan.

servants, speaking, and many other topics. On page 263 of the sixth edition there is some counsel for counselors:

Give not your Advice or Opinion before asked; for that is to upbraid the others Ignorance: *nor* attribute ill success to the neglect of your Counsel; *nor* be angry if your Advice be not followed. *Neither* accustom your self to find fault with others Actions, except vitious; for *you are not bound to weed other mens Gardens.*

Be not too eager in counselling others; for the *evil* Success (which happens frequently to good Advice) will be *laid to your charge*, and *seldom* shall you be *thanked for the good.*

From Part I, Chapter 15, we have selected the following quotations:

OF PRUDENT CHUSING A CALLING, OR STATE OF LIFE

Upon the discreet *Choice of our Calling*, or state of Life, depends our whole Content and Felicity: for if we chuse that which is *agreeable to our Inclinations and Abilities*, both of Body and Mind, we work cheerfully, our Life is pleasant, and we are constant to our purposes. But if, capable of better, we chuse *a worse and lower*, we espouse a continual Vexation; if we aim at what is *above our Capacity*, we despond and despair. Players contrive their Parts to their Persons; and let us exercise our selves in what we are most fit . . .

In *chusing a Calling* . . . consider,

1. The *Advantages* or Disadvantages to our End, or its Contrary.
2. The *Temptations* we are likely to undergo and meet with.
3. What *Strength*, Assistance, or Hopes we have to overcome them.

But because it is not possible to judge of these but by *Experience*, which the *Deliberant* is supposed not to have, but in some lesser measure; it is therefore necessary for him, to ask Advice, first of God; then of wife, upright, and experienced persons. . . .

Many Men are *not capable to chuse for themselves*, being of weak Judgments, unexperienced, byassed with some Vice or Irregularity; these are to submit to the Counsel of their Friends; and the most disinterested, and nearest a-kin, are the *likeliest* to give best Counsel. . . .

Going to chuse, therefore, *place your self as much as is possible in Equilibrio*; and resolve to take the best as near as your own Discretion (the assistance of Gods Spirit implored) and the advice of Friends, shall suggest unto you. *The best*, I say, *not simply*, but the *best for you*; considering your Parts, Inclinations, bodily Health, and Strength, exterior Advantages, and the like. . . .

From the Consideration of which, and such like, these *Rules* may be taken notice of.

A good natur'd facil Man is not fit for such an Employment, wherein he must necessarily converse frequently with evil Persons.

A *melancholic* Person is not fit to undertake a Profession of much Study or Solitariness.

A *timorous* Spirit is not fit for Magistracy.

A covetous Person is not to be a Merchant, or Banquier.

A Man of *bodily Strength and Choler* will not be a good Officer in War. . . .

If *you be consulted* concerning a Person, either very inconstant, passionate, or vitious, give not your advice; it is in vain: for such will do only what shall please themselves.

Never advise any one to a Calling, which is much against his Will, or Inclination. . . .

And from Part II, Chapter 7:

Design not upon what is not in your Power. And remember that being to deal with other persons, you must drive the Nail which way it will go. Therefore be as indifferent as is possible. Your future Gains also not being in your power, spend not upon the Hopes of them: and remember, that Expectation is always greater than the Reality.

Other books expounding the philosophy of success. Washington, Franklin, and Lincoln are but three of the outstanding Americans who produced documents emphasizing the importance of courage, thrift, honesty, and perseverance. Franklin's *The Way to Wealth: or Poor Richard Improved*, first printed in 1757, has stood well the test of repeated publication, for it contains the best of all the wise and witty sayings in Franklin's many Almanacs. Eighty-nine years after it appeared the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor saw fit to bring out a reprint.

The books of Samuel Smiles. In 1859 Samuel Smiles published, in London, *Self-Help*, a little volume destined to be translated into more than a score of languages and read by millions of people throughout the civilized world. This book was the outgrowth of years of study, observation, and lecturing, during which Smiles sought to prove to the working classes that man "has a right to leisure for the improvement of his mind as well as the preservation of his health; leisure to think, leisure to read, leisure to enjoy; . . . adverse circumstances, even the barrenest poverty, can not repress the human character and intellect if it is determined to rise." By way of proof, he referred to the lives of "men of worth and valour, who, in the face of the greatest difficulties had contributed to the honour of their race, enriched the literature, and advanced the science, art,

and commerce of their country."² Smiles saw that the industrial revolution sweeping over Britain was sure to bring leisure to the working people. The inspiration of his zest for the cause of self-improvement and his certainty of success for all who were willing to work for it spelled hope and new freedom for those who read *Self-Help* and its companion books.

His *Autobiography* reveals ready sympathy, kindness, common sense, and a zest for living. Education, he believed, was valuable, but not nearly so vital as the development of habits of industry. One circumstance, quoted from the *Autobiography*, shows his fearless way of facing circumstances in the days before he had "arrived" as an author, at the age of forty-five:

I tried to make a living by physic, but failed. I tried newspaper-editing; and, though it kept me, I found it would not maintain a wife and family. I tried book-writing, and failed there, too, so far as income was concerned. Another change was therefore necessary. Dr. MacIntosh told me at Edinburgh that a "rolling stone gathers no moss." However this may be, I certainly gained nothing by resting and not rolling. I thought rolling was worth a trial. Change might do something for me. Idiots never change, but sensible people change for the better. Hence I changed and changed again; and my last change was certainly a successful one. [Page 134.]

In writing the life of George Stephenson, Smiles was much impressed by the power of perseverance; it seemed an excellent principle to illustrate in writing *Self-Help*. This first of his success-philosophy series appeared in 1859 and was followed by *Character* (1871), *Thrift* (1875), *Duty* (1880), and *Life and Labour* (1887), besides several valuable biographies and other books of historic interest. Through reprints and translations these success books reached people of many nations and spread Smiles's ideas of the essential characteristics of his notion of Christianity as well as the secrets of successful careers: "constancy, energy, perseverance, industry, patience, accuracy, cheerfulness, hope, self-denial, self-culture, self-respect, power of good example, nobility of character" (page 390 of *Self-Help*).

In 1860 Emerson brought out in *Conduct of Life* his dignified and discerning essays on "Fate," "Power," "Wealth," and "Culture." Certainly he was not consciously penning success literature for career-hungry compatriots, but the challenge of these essays to vocational effectiveness left their impress.

² Thomas Mackay, editor, *Autobiography of Samuel Smiles* (1905), pp. 131-2.

Marden, the American Smiles. In ideas and efforts the American who most closely resembled Smiles was Orison Swett Marden of Boston. Like Smiles he was a graduate in medicine; like Smiles he espoused the cause of Success with a capital S for all who were ambitious enough to work and get ahead.

As was the case with his English counterpart, Marden published in rapid succession a long series of stimulating titles which met with enthusiastic reception. Most of them are sturdy volumes that almost overwhelm the reader with their forceful vitality and never-failing fund of facts to prove the author's claims. *Pushing to the Front; or Success under Difficulties* marked his literary debut, and *Architects of Fate; or Steps to Success and Power* followed in close succession (both 1895). Warm was the welcome they received. President Warren of Boston University said of one of these, "For family use as well as school purposes, no book has ever been published which is superior to it. It is destined to be read in nearly every land."

Subsequent to these two books Marden published *Success, a Book of Ideals, Helps, and Examples for all Desiring to Make the Most Out of Life* (1897); *Winning Out* (1900); *How They Succeeded* (1901); *Choosing a Career* (1905);³ *Every Man a King* (1906); *The Optimistic Life; or, In the Cheering-Up Business* (1907); *He Who Thinks He Can, and Other Papers on Success in Life* (1908); and *Peace, Power, and Plenty* (1909). Several other works followed between then and 1924, the year of Marden's death, but they were ushered into the world after success literature had come into competition with the literature of vocational guidance.

Five other American authors on success. Other success books are listed in the Appendix; from the group we choose five samples.

W. D. Matthews, author of *Getting on in the World*, was Professor of Rhetoric and English at the University of Chicago; originally he wrote the essays as a series of articles for the *Chicago Tribune*. In clear, concise style he treated his subject. One paragraph is worthy of inclusion here:

Give your energies to the highest employment of which your nature is capable; be alive; be patient; work hard; watch opportunities; be rigidly honest; hope for the best; and, if you fail to reach the goal of your wishes, which is possible in spite of the utmost efforts, you will die with the consciousness of having done your best—which is, after all, the truest success to which a man can aspire. [Page 18.]

³In spite of this significant title the book offers no help on the problem or process of choice.

Elbert Hubbard, philosopher of East Aurora, New York, wrote with a brisk and witty brevity. Instead of extolling the virtues of industry, patience, and perseverance, he asked for activity, backbone, and stick-to-it-iveness. Note these words from *A Message to Garcia*:

It is not book-learning young men need, nor instruction about this and that, but a stiffening of the vertebrae which will cause them to be loyal to a trust, to act promptly, to concentrate their energies; do the thing—"Carry a message to Garcia." . . . This incapacity for independent action, this moral stupidity, this infirmity of will, this unwillingness to catch hold and lift, are the things that put pure Socialism so far in the future. If men will not act for themselves, what will they do when the benefit of their effort is for all? [Pages 10, 12.]

William Makepeace Thayer was an American clergyman of Franklin, Massachusetts. After the fashion of Smiles and Marden, he wrote many essays on success and several biographies, and in addition to these he published a few success stories much like Horatio Alger's. Foreign reprints of several of Thayer's books show his popularity abroad. His *Ethics of Success* deserves special commendation for the extensive scope and practicality of its one hundred and eight chapters, but, more than this, it is one of the first, if not the first, of books to be written purposely as reading texts for the higher grades of school. The chapter headings embrace everything from definitions of success and failure to rules for mental, moral, and physical strength; they call one's attention to dissertations on reading, thinking, letter writing, conversation, being one's self, and the cultivation of the virtues of gratitude, patriotism, and loyalty. His essays are filled with quotations from Smiles and from eminent Americans.

Most of the writers who contributed ideas for use in Benjamin Franklin Butler's *How to Get Rich*, in answer to the Boston *Herald's* letter asking for the secrets of their success, were prosperous businessmen and philanthropists. The little book itself is less mundane than the title suggests, for it contains, besides the replies, brief biographical sketches that are of added value in that they show "how life's battles have been fought and won by men who at the outset had only ordinary opportunities." The reply from P. T. Barnum is particularly good.

At his rectory desk, William James Tilley, a Midwesterner, penned *Masters of the Situation*, which is similar in aim to Marden's

Architects of Fate, but less cluttered in style. Briefly, he stressed promptness, diligence, purpose, good health, manners, enthusiasm, and the value of studying great models; in one chapter entitled "Wait!" he emphasized the necessity of toil, patience, and unflinching perseverance:

With all its buoyancy and hope and seeming assurance, youth has its hours of discouragement and despondency, and young men are often faint-hearted. They believe in all things save themselves. Too often they lack the courage to go out in pursuit of life's prizes and rewards. For such this volume has been written. At the same time it is hoped that it may not be found wholly wanting in hints and incentives of value to those farther on. [Page vi.]

The spoken word in print. Not a few valued contributions to the success-philosophy bookshelves originated in addresses, lectures, and sermons subsequently printed. Two early examples are found in addresses given by Henry Mandeville at Hamilton College in 1840, on the subject, "Perseverance as a Means of Success in Life," and by Stacy G. Potts at Rutgers College in 1850, on "The Acquisition of Power and Its Use."

James A. Garfield spoke at the commencement exercises of the Class of 1869 at the Consolidated Business College in Washington, D.C.; "Elements of Success" was the topic, direct and practical his treatment of it. As the graduates and their friends listened to their speaker they must have realized that this young active member of the National Congress was a living embodiment of all the principles of success. Could they have looked ahead another eleven or twelve years, how much more keenly would they have felt the truth of all he said!

Another famous address was "Acres of Diamonds" by Russell H. Conwell, first delivered in 1861 and published in 1888. It was a glorification of success and riches as sanctioned by religion: success is to be found where you are if you will only make the most of it. The lecture was given more than six thousand times, and Conwell regularly gave his earnings to needy college students. In 1888 he founded Temple College, later Temple University, devoted largely to the education of students unable to attend classes in the daytime; leaving the ministry, he became its first president.⁴

In 1893 a lecturer in Sheboygan, Wisconsin, John E. Burton by name, spoke on "The Secret of Luck," which according to him and most of his success-minded contemporaries is P-l-u-c-k.

⁴ Agnes Rush Burr, *Russell H. Conwell and His Work* (1917).

Ten years later the fine Sunday evening talks given by Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee were collected and printed in *Character Building*.

The personal-narrative books on success. Many good samples of success biography were in circulation before 1868, but since that year, when John Bigelow gave to America the first edition of Franklin's *Autobiography*, printed exactly as Franklin had written it, this little volume has proved an especially valued part of our heritage; hence it seems fair to single it out as a cornerstone for the life-story variety of success literature.

In this field, as in that of the success-philosophy books, Samuel Smiles was leading the way. In 1857 he had published his *Life of George Stephenson*, which was, in combination with a biography of the son, Robert Stephenson, republished in 1859. In 1861 came the *Brief Biographies*, and in 1864 the famous volume of *Industrial Biography*. In the last-named book the subjects of Smiles's sketches were described as engaged in work of everyday usefulness, an idea somewhat unique in the biographical works of the time; few writers dealt with any but the illustrious and the famous.

Predominant among the names on the long list of writers contributing to this personal-narrative type of success literature are those of the Reverend William Makepeace Thayer, James Parton, Mrs. Sarah Knowles Bolton, Orison Swett Marden, and Elbert Hubbard. Other prominent writers with masterpieces of biography to their credit are Jacob Riis, Booker T. Washington, Helen Keller, and George Herbert Palmer. For these last no titles need be mentioned, so much a part of our American classics have their works become. For the others, however, a passing word of notice should not be amiss.

In 1859 Thayer launched *The Poor Girl and True Woman; or Elements of Woman's Success* upon the literary seas, and from then on there followed nine books in fairly rapid succession. From the beginning his work showed him a believer in the value of inspirational literature; constantly he emphasized the elements that make for success and cited with admiration the lives of poor people who have become famous. Upon the death of Garfield he wrote and dedicated to "The Young Men and Youth of the United States" *From Log Cabin to White House* (1881). Before that he had already published *Tact, Push, and Principle* (1880), which derived its title from the three qualities that brought success to Samuel Budgett, the great English merchant. The *Ethics of Success* (1893) and its lit-

erary predecessor, *Success and Some of Its Achievers* (1891), were so filled with illustrious examples that they almost belong to the success-biography group, while *Turning Points in Successful Careers* (1895) belongs unquestionably to the biography group, for it contains fifty carefully detailed accounts of eminent English and American people. Implicitly he believed in the "opportunity that knocks but once"; enthusiastically he traced for his youthful readers the events preceding and following each career's turning point.

In two books on *Captains of Industry: A Book for Young Americans* (1884 and 1891) James Parton dealt with success in the commoner vocations, but in the rest of his titles he chose the most eminent and interesting people he could find, such as Greeley, Burr, Jackson, Franklin, Jefferson, and Voltaire, seventeen books in all.

Particularly active among biographers was Mrs. Sarah Knowles Bolton, a Connecticut-born writer who was for many years associated with the *Congregationalist*, the National Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the American Humane Society. In 1884 she showed her interest in inspirational literature by writing *How Success is Won* and a year later began publishing a rather remarkable series of thirteen biographies, beginning with *Lives of Poor Boys Who Became Famous* and *Lives of Girls Who Became Famous* (1885 and 1886).

Both Hubbard and Marden also wrote personal narratives. Their stories took the form of interviews and travel talks. In 1897 Hubbard published two of these: *Little Journeys to the Homes of Great Men and Good* and *Little Journeys to the Homes of Famous Women*. There are thirteen or fourteen additional titles that serve as letters of introduction to great leaders in as many branches of human endeavor. Marden, except for his *Talks with Great Workers* (1901) and *Little Visits with Great Americans* (1905), remained distinctly the writer of success philosophy. With characteristic emphasis he gave as a subtitle to *Little Visits* the carefully written label, *Success Ideals and How to Attain Them*. Other writers of success biographies are noted in the Appendix.

Success stories in fiction. Although these writers dealt chiefly with nonfiction, a discussion of personal narratives in success literature would be incomplete without mention of the fiction and non-fiction works of one of Harvard's most widely read authors, Horatio Alger, Jr. Graduating at the age of eighteen, in the class of 1852, Alger later enrolled in the Divinity School. He preached as a Unitarian minister from 1864 to 1866 and soon afterward went to New

York, where he sought to better the lives of poor and unfortunate street boys. From this period he gained the wealth of contacts and experiences that fitted him to write his many books. In number these totaled about seventy, and by 1912 some 800,000 copies had been sold. What an army of readers, by 1909, had thrilled to the stories of the "Ragged Dick" and "Tattered Tom" and "Luck and Pluck" series! Twice, with titles reminiscent of William M. Thayer, Alger entered the realm of nonfiction, when he published *Abraham Lincoln, the Backwoods Boy; or How a Young Rail-Splitter Became President* and *From Canal-Boy to President; or the Boyhood and Manhood of James A. Garfield*. But the fiction of such stories as *Phil, the Fiddler*, *Paul, the Peddler*, *Brave and Bold*, and *Try and Trust* was so founded on truth that it seldom failed to grip its readers, boys and girls alike.

Of course, hundreds if not thousands of novels could be cited which delineate vocational careers, successful and the opposite. Good medicine for fathers who try to manage their sons are Charles Dickens' *Dombey and Son* (1848) and George Meredith's *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* (1859). From time to time bibliographies of fiction and biography pertaining to vocational guidance have been issued.

Value of these writings. The ideals set up by the writers of success literature were high but not impossible of attainment—if one had the necessary grit and willingness to discipline oneself for the sake of achieving the desired end. To learn that character and the will to succeed meant more than money, rank, or fame was, to their disappointed souls, a source of rare new hope. Even talent was a secondary matter!

All these authors, true to the Adam Smith philosophy, aimed to advance the general welfare of society through the direct help and inspiration they gave each individual reader. Only one exception to this rule appears among the books on success literature lists—Albert Shaw's *Outlook for the Average Man* (1907).⁵ Dr. Shaw's interest in the ethical welfare of mankind was wholly genuine and keen. Much has been said about him and his book, but it is well to review some of the main ideas he stressed. He wrote of men of both low and high degree, and of future benefits for both; of shorter hours of toil (page 32), of the value of increased leisure (page 31), of the compensations to be derived from the development of avocations

⁵ There is some probability that Parsons and Shaw knew of the work and interests of each other.

(page 33), of better relationships between capital and labor (page 33), of ideal cities and country communities (page 42). His words were highly prophetic and farseeing.

It is curious how the older writers of success philosophy also advocated leisure and recreation and yet are remembered for their insistence upon industry and perseverance. Turn to the works of Smiles or Marden or Thayer; it is not hard to find passages on the value of taking time off for refreshing recreations and avocations. Smiles was openly delighted with the possibility for pursuing his pet hobbies—and this in the 1870's! Paltry amusements, it is true, he frowned upon; upon worth-while leisure pursuits never.

Undoubtedly the prevocational-guidance literature, with its emphasis upon individual success, served its purpose well. If it were but possible to find a way to measure the extent of its influence the results might surprise us. How far were the leaders of Europe and America, for instance, students of this philosophy? How many victims of the industrial revolution rose to heights of which they might never have dared to dream if they had not read or heard of the teachings of these books? How far did other readers depart from the original ideas of virtuous self-advancement as, on achieving success, they came to regard the sky as the limit to possibilities of gain? Did the First World War—did the crash of 1929—come from overdeveloped optimism and assurance of success? Perhaps, but probably not! There were other forces also at work. In fact it might even be a good idea, in these uncertain days, to condense and reprint the best teachings of these old books that are now collecting dust, for there are many good ideas in them.

Certainly the youth of the eighties, nineties, and early nineteen hundreds could complain of no dearth of inspirational reading matter; this partly filled the place held by the movies and radio. Yet it must be admitted that such writing, while stirring many a boy and girl to effort, hardly provided the needed guidance for the problems of a complex world. It depended on feeling rather than on cerebration, it omitted actual experience, and it did not provide for counseling as we think of it now, without which no book on vocational success is likely to take effect.

Chapter III

Early Occupational Information for Youth and Parents

WITH the philosophy of success and accounts of successful careers claiming such widespread attention, it is not surprising that another kind of writing was scarcely noticed as it began to emerge: books dealing more objectively with the qualifications and preparation necessary for success in various occupations and professions. Their contributions were prophetic of the guidance literature of today.

Guidance for vocational preparation. A certain amount of guidance as to which studies to take to prepare for particular vocations is to be found in the books written to assist in the choosing of a career. *The Complete Book of Trades* (1837) states (page 13) that the candidate for attorney "must possess a clear and solid understanding . . . the whole improved by a liberal education, which may be continued until his sixteenth year." In 1878 Edward Everett Hale in *What Career?* (page 24) recommended a liberal education, added that the most liberal education is to be found in the theological school, and advised the young to defer to the last possible moment mere study for the specialty.

President White of Cornell published a small book, *What Profession Shall I Choose and How Shall I Fit Myself for It?* (1884), to guide Cornell students in their choice of studies. It indicates the college subjects to take in preparation for several of the vocations usually followed by college men. Information about courses which prepared the student for certain occupations is to be found in Rollins' *What Can a Young Man Do?* (1907).

In 1904 it was announced in London that the Future Career Association constituted a trustworthy and exhaustive bureau of information on education and occupations and that it furnished expert advice as to courses of study. Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, in her *Handbook of Employments* (Aberdeen, 1908, page 15) planned for the use of young workers an Educational and Employment Bureau, whose functions should be in part "to prepare simple tables for the schools, showing clearly the maintenance grants, bursaries, and scholarships open to scholars, and to give detailed information regarding these." She began to collect the material for the book in 1906 (see below).

Trades for London Boys and How to Enter Them, compiled by

The Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association (1908), gave after each trade a list of the Institutes in which technical classes were held.

Instances of information on occupations. In 1774 George Chapman in his *Treatise on Education* said:

But if his genius be not particular, it would be proper, as he advances through youth, and before he chuses his employment, to give him a just view of the advantages and disadvantages which attend the different occupations of mankind, and to point out to him how far a trade or profession which he may have in view is useful to society, and how far it may be suited to his capacity, his temper, and his constitution. Though such considerations as these ought to have great weight in determining his choice, yet seldom is such attention given to direct him, as the importance of that critical step, and the need he has of advice, seem to require.

Another important early book was entitled *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory, and the Youth's Guide in the Choice of a Profession or Trade*,¹ with subtitles indicating that the book contains an essay on education for work, the qualifications of three learned professions, and the characteristics of many occupations. This was published by Joseph Collyer, Esq., in London, in 1761. A flyleaf states that the book has been translated from the Italian but all the internal evidence would seem to contradict this claim. The introduction advocates a practice which Benjamin Franklin's father had already followed in Boston: the visiting of shops and mercantile establishments.

The first American edition of *The Book of Trades or Library of the Useful Arts*, published in Philadelphia in 1807, has neither preface nor introduction. It consists of three small volumes, each of which contains an account of the work of twenty or more trades. Sixty-eight trades, including those of feather-worker, coach maker, tallow chandler, lace maker, cork-cutter, and other more common ones are described, and the book is illustrated with sixty-seven copper plates.

In 1823 there appeared in London a small volume entitled *Scenes of British Wealth*, by the Reverend I. Taylor. The book contains

¹ This and a number of other early books are described in detail in a scholarly article, "Vocational Guidance in London—1747-1761," by Owen Pence, in *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, February, 1940. The title-page of this book is reproduced in the article and the historical and economic setting is elaborated.

information about occupations to be had in the British Empire, and resembles a story book more than a manual of information.

In 1835 the twentieth (?) edition of *The Book of Trades or Young British Tradesman, Being a Library of the Useful Arts for Commercial Education*, was published in London. This edition is in one volume and includes seventy engravings and accounts of one hundred trades, together with a warning to beware of another work dealing with half the number of trades, just published under the same title. There are 454 pages of text, and five hundred questions "deduced from the Contents of the Preceding Volume, for the Exercise of Students, and Young Tradesmen, According to the Interrogative System." While all the questions are merely factual, calling for nothing outside the text, this book seems to be the first furnished with questions in textbook form. Whether it ever entered a school door we do not know.

A book by Edward Hazen, *The Panorama of Professions and Trades, or Every Man's Book* (Philadelphia, 1836), was printed as attractively as the best textbooks of the period; the Preface recommends that schools use the book. If we could look into the schools of a century ago in Philadelphia we might easily find a few that did use it. Its appendix furnishes a large number of questions, all of them mere invitations to repeat the facts of the book in its exact words. Hazen was the author of a number of school textbooks. At any rate this textbook, if such it may be called, like *The Book of Trades* issued in England the year before, made no permanent contribution toward the concept of providing classes in occupational information in the school curriculum. That idea was to wait eighty more years.

The Boy's Book of Trades and the Tools Used in Them (London, 1866), includes a Preface which states that the choice of an occupation is important and difficult. The author explains the operations of some manufactures and the method of using the tools. Accounts of thirty-three trades, beginning with that of brickmaker and ending with that of gunmaker, are given. No mention is made of such items as salaries, advantages, and possibilities for advancement.

A college attempts to supply vocational information. In the Prefatory Note to *What Profession Shall I Choose and How Shall I Fit Myself for It?* (1884) Andrew D. White explained that during many years he had been receiving letters from parents who inquired, "To what profession and how shall I educate my children?" and from young men and young women who asked, "To what profes-

sion and how shall I educate myself?" as well as questions about opportunities at Cornell University. Consequently he asked several of his professors for their views on professions related to their work. From the information thus collected a fifty-eight-page book was compiled, in which fifteen professions were analyzed. The book provides both educational and vocational guidance.

Other books on occupations. George J. Manson published in New York, in 1889, a book for boys entitled *Ready for Business, or Choosing an Occupation*. It was written to answer just such questions as a boy would ask about an occupation while he was making up his mind about entering it. Eleven chapters appeared first in *St. Nicholas Magazine*. In 1897 Frances E. Willard published her *Occupations for Women*.

Four books addressed to young persons were published in New York between 1898 and 1900. The following quotation is from the Preface of one of these, *What Shall Our Boys Do for a Living?* (1898), by Charles F. Wingate:

Few persons possess either sufficient experience or judgment to advise others what calling to follow. It seems strange that no one has written a book on the subject before. Plenty of advice is to be had about the value of honesty, industry, and thrift. But what the young need most is plain facts about different occupations, particularly the new ones, with their advantages and drawbacks; how to enter and how to get on in them, with other practical and specific information.

In his Introduction to *Helps for Ambitious Boys* (1899) William Drysdale explains that "it is not enough to tell a man what prizes are offered; he must be shown how to take the first steps toward winning them. He must have assistance in selecting the high mark which is to be the object of his constancy of purpose." In the companion volume, *Helps for Ambitious Girls* (1900), the list of chapters includes health, education, dress and demeanor, home and school, and nurse, lawyer, and other workers. In both volumes, after each chapter on a specific vocation there follows a chapter of pertinent quotations, including this from the *Talmud*: "It is well to add a trade to your studies if you would remain free from sin."

What Shall I Do? (1899), by John Sidney Stoddard and a co-author, was written for boys and girls and is in the form of reports on a series of imaginary school classes in which the advantages and disadvantages of fifty different occupations were studied. The topics discussed under the different occupations are those usually treated

in a textbook of today: advantages and disadvantages, requirements for entering or ways of entering the work (educational requirements including probable cost of tuition, what to say in a letter asking for information, the apprentice method, and the amount of necessary capital), the probable remuneration, possibilities of advancement, and qualities needed for success in the different occupations. There is a short chapter on "Success for Girls." There is no evidence that these classes were actually held, but the book indicates a way of teaching occupations in the school and provides the necessary information.

In the same year Lewis Ransom Fiske, president of the Michigan Teachers' Association and formerly president of Albion College, published *Choosing a Lifework*. It was addressed to students and contains these two prophetic hints (page 19): "We can choose intelligently only where we understand the nature of the several employments opening their doors to us, and possess an accurate judgment as to our qualifications to perform the work required."

French examples. M. Édouard Charton's *Guide pour le choix d'un état, ou Dictionnaire des Professions* (1842) explains the importance of such a choice: on it depend the ease and freedom of one's intellectual powers, the direction of the intelligence, one's aptitudes, his friendships, often his marriage, his morale, and his happiness. The book was written because then for the first time young people could choose their careers. It gives the practical advice (*conseils*) one would want told to his son or to young people in whose futures one was vitally interested. The type of information given includes the amount of time and money required to follow each profession, courses, special schools, required examinations, abilities necessary for success, ways of becoming established, opportunities for advancement, and duties.

Four books in a series called "Répertoire général des carrières en France au XXe siècle," by Paul Bastien, appeared between 1903 and 1906. The first one, *Les Carrières de la jeune fille*, contains a detailed practical exposition of the occupations offered in France to young ladies, whereas the second, *Les Carrières administratives des jeunes gens*, dwells on the necessary studies for each of the administrative careers, and the third, *Les Carrières libérales*, presents occupational studies of the lawyer, doctor, man of letters, and others. The last one is *Les Carrières commerciales, industrielles et agricoles*.

Two important American books just before 1908. *Starting in Life* (1906), by Nathaniel C. Fowler, offered information on the

advantages, disadvantages, and requirements for success in each of thirty-two occupations. The book included also a chapter on the education of boys. The author wrote several other books to help individuals to succeed in occupational life.

What Can a Young Man Do?, by Frank West Rollins, came out in 1907. The author said in his Preface that he had frequently been asked the question he was using as a title and that a year before he had tried to answer it briefly in an article in the *Independent*. For each of fifty-three vocations he gave a statement as to the qualifications necessary for the occupation, how to go to work, opportunities for advancement, salaries, rewards, and names of schools where necessary training might be obtained.

Work in Scotland. In 1908 Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon's book, *A Handbook of Employments, Specially Prepared for the Use of Boys and Girls on Entering the Trades, Industries, and Professions*, was published in Aberdeen. Mrs. Gordon felt that to guide boys and girls in the early stages of their industrial career educational and employment bureaus should be established to give information about the technical and commercial continuation classes having relation to particular trades and industries, and to supply accurate information with regard to the qualifications most required in the various occupations, the remuneration offered, and similar facts. In order to take steps toward forming such a bureau in Scotland she sent out in 1906 an inquiry to employers. Voluntary workers helped to collect information; the author compared the information obtained, extended the inquiries, consulted further authorities, and prepared the material for publication.

Not based on counseling. It is important to note that apparently none of the foregoing authors have dealt with individual young people. Actual conference of counselor with counselee had not begun. Yet as examples of guidance by books several of these volumes are notable steps toward our goal. Other similar books are listed in the Appendix.

Advice on business success. Among the most interesting handbooks about business careers was one by Thomas A. Davies, *How to Make Money and How to Keep It*, apparently published simultaneously in London and New York in 1870. Although it was written primarily for men, any woman who chanced to read it could not fail to derive some benefit from its good business philosophy and helpful rules, statistics, and tables. Many inexperienced youths must

have found it a mine of information pertaining to the question, "How can I get ahead?"

Surviving from a still earlier year (1848) are two small documents on financial success: the one, already mentioned, Franklin's *Way to Wealth; or Poor Richard Improved*; the other, a quaint little volume entitled *The Pleasant Art of Money-Catching*. This was published anonymously in Philadelphia, and contained, besides the title essay, a second effusion: "The Way to Turn a Penny; or The Art of Thriving." A compilation of essay, rules, poetry, and recipes, it was intended to give, according to the text, "serious and necessary advice to all those that desire to thrive in the world and to have the blessing of God with what they get." It gives a diverting glimpse of bygone (?) customs and manners.

Books much more modern as to publication and subject matter are: Edward W. Bok, *The Young Man in Business* (1900); G. Bolen, *Getting a Living* (1901); Frank Vanderlip, *Business and Education* (1907); and N. A. Briscoe, *Economics of Business* (1907). In 1908 two practical-minded authors brought out books that have many counterparts today: *How to Market Ability*, by J. W. D. Grant, and S. Roland Hall's *How to Get a Position and How to Keep It*.

Books describing single occupations. In addition to the type of book already mentioned there were before 1908 volumes giving information about individual vocations. Daniel Defoe, in *The Complete English Tradesman*, the second edition of which was published in London in 1727, begins by defining the tradesman as one who deals with the overseas trader (who is above the tradesman in occupational prestige) and sells to the retail men below him. The tradesman is instructed at each stage in his career from apprentice to the "complete" tradesman. Considerable attention is given to warnings against various forms of dishonesty in business and even against using borrowed money in one's business. Other specific books may be noted: Sir Walter Besant, *The Art of Fiction* (1884); George B. Plympton, *How to Become an Engineer* (1891); and Charles A. Dana, *The Art of Newspaper Making* (1895).

In 1893 there appeared Bishop William Lawrence's *After College, What?*, twenty-eight pages presenting the conditions and opportunities of the ministry. Another piece of work, *The Choice of a Life-Work, Opportunities of the Ministry* (1906), by Earle Morse Wilbur, is seventeen pages in length, the first five of which are devoted to the problem of choosing a life work. Many additional titles or specific callings will be found in the Appendix.

Guidance for parents who would guide. Early books containing occupational information were usually addressed to parents, for few adults had advanced to the belief that a youth should plan his own career. The earliest of the informational books considered in this study belongs in this category. It is *A General Description of All Trades, digested in Alphabetical Order by which Parents, Guardians, and Trustees may, with greater ease and certainty, make choice of Trades agreeable to the Capacity, Education, Inclination, Strength, and Fortune of the Youth under their care* and was published in London in 1747. The book begins with an essay on Divinity, Law, and Physic. It is interesting to note that so early a book considered the capacity, education, inclination, strength, and fortune of the individual as important factors in determining a young person's future occupation. The title-page and Preface of this book were reproduced by Meyer Bloomfield in *Readings in Vocational Guidance* (1915).

Choosing a vocation for a son. The Reverend William Barrows, a master of a London academy, published in 1802 *An Essay on Education; in which are particularly considered the Merits and the Defects of the Discipline and Instruction in our Academies*. Chapter VI is entitled, "On consulting the Genius in order to determine the Profession." Barrows first discusses the old question of innate versus acquired talents and quotes a number of painters, poets, and artists as attributing their success to application rather than to genius. The author inclines to a middle ground and argues (page 168) for giving the boy an opportunity to achieve advancement by his own exertions. Next he discusses the dangers of allowing a son to choose his own vocation (page 171), and sums up his position (page 174):

I would not on one hand, indulge a child in any choice of a profession, which ignorance or caprice only had led him to form; nor would I, on the other, force him into a situation, against such a rooted antipathy, as it seemed impossible to conciliate.

He then proceeds to the point that teachers of children are less biased than parents and should be consulted as to the choice of an occupation (page 178), and in the remainder of the chapter gives suggestions for reconciling the child and reinforcing his thought toward the profession chosen.

Other early books for guides. *The Book of Trades; or, Circle of the Useful Arts* (1835) was published in Glasgow, and the

Preface to a later edition of this book (1841) stated that it had been adopted "as a Class-Book in the High School of Glasgow, and in several other Seminaries." Then follows a long discussion of the propriety of such teaching, based on the authority of John Milton. The poet, in *Of Education* (1644), had laid down a course of instruction for boys which, in addition to the classics and the sciences, advocated the study of

the helpful experience of hunters, fowlers, fishermen, shepherds, gardeners, apothecaries; and in the other sciences, architects, engineers, mariners, anatomists.

The Advertisement (or Preface) to *The Book of Trades* goes on to say that the book furnishes the very information advocated by Milton. The author suggests that models and objects, apparatus, materials, and drawings should be used in the teaching of this work, and that Saturdays should be used for school visits to factories and shops. This program, the author states, had actually been carried out in Glasgow.

Another book, written for the use of both parents and young persons, is *The Complete Book of Trades; or Parent's Guide and Youth's Instructor; forming a popular Encyclopedia of Trades, Manufactures, and Commerce, As at present pursued in England; with a More Particular Regard to its State In and Near the Metropolis; including a Copious Table of Every Trade, Profession, Occupation, and Calling, however divided and subdivided; together with the Apprentice Fee usually given with Each, and An Estimate of the sums required for Commencing Business*. The book was written by N. Whittock and other persons and published in London in 1837.

Edward Hazen's *The Panorama of Professions and Trades, or Every Man's Book*, already referred to, was "written for the use of schools and families." This statement from the Preface brings it into the group of books addressed to adults: "Parents should be particularly cautious in the choice of permanent employments for their children; and in every case capacity should be especially regarded, without paying much attention to the comparative favor in which the several employments may be held." Hazen's 1841 book, *Popular Technology, or Professions and Trades*, is in two volumes; the first contains a chapter for each of thirty-four vocations. The greater part of the Preface in each book is devoted to an argument for including a course on this subject matter in the schools. One statement is as follows:

To determine the particular genius of children, parents should give them, at least, a superficial knowledge of the several trades and professions. To do this effectually, a systematic course of instruction should be given, not only at the family fireside and in the schoolroom, but also at places where practical exhibitions of the several employments may be seen. These means, together with a competent literary education, and some tools and other facilities for mechanical operations, can scarcely fail of furnishing clear indications of intellectual bias.

The Book of Trades, a Circle of the Arts and Manufactures, Adapted for Schools, Colleges, and Families, by James Wylde, was published in London in 1866. The author says that "it has been so written as to permit it to be used, and it is hoped that it will recommend itself, as a School Book, for class and general reading."

In *What Shall My Son Be? Hints to Parents on the Choice of a Profession or Trades and Counsels to Young Men on Their Entrance into Active Life* (1870), by Francis Davenant, the author states that the time for deciding what one's son shall be is before his school education is over, not after. The occupational studies are illustrated by anecdotes and maxims of distinguished men, and there is an Appendix which includes examination papers and other information.

Several of the old books mention teachers or tutors in the dedication or the Preface. Sizer's *Choice of Pursuits, or What to Do and Why* (New York, 1877) was dedicated in part "to Parents and Teachers who have to guide and instruct the young in all that relates to their character, talent, and future good." The author's purpose as shown in the prefatory statement is "that every person may secure not only the best possible development of his natural powers, but that guidance, training, and exercise which will enable him to make the most of himself as a human being." This purpose is of more interest than is the method used to determine the appropriate occupation for each.

The volume by Arthur King, *Our Sons: How to Start Them in Life; A Manual of Useful Information Respecting Places of Education, the Modes of Entrance to the Professions, the Civil Service, and Commercial Employment* (London, 1880), is typical of this group. In the Preface one reads, "The primary object, as explained by the title, is to assist parents, guardians, and all interested in the well-being of their sons, in the choice of such an education as shall be best suited for their advancement in life, with the chance of making them useful to their country, instead of being, as many are now,

'logs upon the water.' " Again, the author says, "The choice of a boy's career is in his guardian's hands, or should be" (page 92).

A French publication, *Professions & métiers; guide pratique à l'usage des familles et de la jeunesse pour le choix d'une carrière* (1892), provided information to enlighten fathers, mothers, and tutors, when they are choosing a career for a son, daughter, or pupil, upon the necessary mental and physical requirements, the studies to prepare for different careers, and the time and money demanded. The two large volumes—the first on the professions, the second on industrial and commercial occupations—were written to give all the necessary information.

E. H. Coumbe's book, *What Shall I Be? A Guide to Occupations for Men and Women In Which Incomes can be made, Ranging from £100 to £1,000 a year* (London, 1900), announces in the Preface that it was written "for the use of parents, guardians, schoolmasters, and of the vast numbers of children of the middle and upper classes who are annually leaving school and plunging into the current of life." The idea of co-operation between father and son in the planning of a career is clearly brought out (pages 18f.) as follows:

Towards the close of school life, if not before, a boy should be encouraged to think on this subject for himself, and it is hoped that the information in this book may be of some assistance in arriving at a decision. . . . A youth should talk to his parents and ascertain from them within what radius his choice must be limited. Then his choice should be free, and should lie with him; the control or veto should lie with his parents. . . . Arguments and explanations of parents or friends of wider knowledge of the world are not compulsion and should be thought over by the youth.

Nathaniel C. Fowler, in *The Boy, How to Help Him Succeed* (1902), counseled, "Study the boy; watch the boy; analyze each action and inclination. Do not force him; do not hurry him; do not fit him to a calling; find a calling that fits him."

Careers for Coming Men; Practical and Authoritative Discussions of the Professions and Callings Open to Young Americans, edited by Whitelaw Reid (1904), was prepared by twenty-three successful men who described the possibilities of their respective vocations. The introduction begins, "One of the heaviest responsibilities that parentage entails lies in advising the son, the coming man of America, in regard to the vocation he shall follow in after years."

It explains further that the book is "a symposium of what may actually be regarded as the equivalent of personal interviews" in which fathers and sons are told what a young man must be and must do before he may hope to attain even a moderate degree of success in his chosen calling.

The Preface of the Reverend George H. Williams' *Careers for Our Sons* (London, 1904) states that "the Schoolmaster's duty is . . . to help him [the youth] in the all important decision of discovery in what direction his talents lie and how he may best use them in the larger field of life that lies beyond the school." The book is addressed also to parents, who must assume the responsibility, it is explained, of helping the boy to choose his career, considering the boy's wishes, and then helping him to receive the proper training for the work he chooses.

Guidance on the method of choosing. Many of the books already mentioned as presenting vocational information contain specific remarks on the choice of an occupation. In Thomas Kelt's *The Mechanic's Text Book* (1857) there is a section called "The Choice of a Profession" by John Frost. The point of view is that every parent in making the choice of a profession for his son, and every son in making the same choice for himself, should seriously consider what makes for happiness.

A large number of the books mentioned as containing occupational information were written from the point of view of advice or counseling. Davenant's *What Shall My Son Be?* is subtitled *Counsels to young men on their entrance into active life*. Manson's *Ready for Business, or Choosing an Occupation*, was prepared to answer such questions as a boy would naturally ask while he was making up his mind to enter a vocation. Wingate said in the Introduction to *What Shall Our Boys Do for a Living?* that he hoped, by setting up a few guideposts on life's pathway, to prevent the beginner from taking a leap in the dark and to save him from wasted effort. Reid's *Careers for Coming Men*, as already explained, was arranged as a symposium of accounts prepared to take the place of personal interviews. The volumes by Drysdale, Fowler, and Rollins also appear to have been written from the point of view of counseling.

Guidance by way of vocational tryout. Advice to try out different occupations has sometimes been offered by these early writers. In an address attributed to him, Russell Sage¹ gave this counsel: "As a rule, a young man should adopt the calling for which he has

¹ John Stoddard, co-author, *What Shall I Do?* (1899), p. 241.

a preference. If he has no particular choice, it would be well for him to try different occupations until he finds one that suits him." E. H. Coumbe² wrote that in the choice of a career the arguments and explanations of parents or friends of wider knowledge should be thought over by the youth. "These will probably overcome any fads or vain imagining; but if not, a trial should be allowed before the final decision is made." Drysdale³ wrote that becoming a student in a physician's office would give an opportunity to make oneself so useful as to be indispensable or to find that he has mistaken his calling and to seek new paths.

In *What Can a Young Man Do?* Rollins frequently mentioned beginning at the bottom to learn a business. Writing in the *Educational Review* (1899), he said of the graduate of the typical manual training school: "Moreover, he has learned the rudiments of many trades and occupations, and has had an experience that ought to reveal to him his inclination and fitness for the particular occupation in which he can be serviceable and happy."

Under the caption "Trial" in *Trades for London Boys* (1908), this statement is made: "A month's trial at least is necessary before it can be judged whether a boy is suited to a trade." In the same year, in his book *Beginnings in Industrial Education*, Paul H. Hanus outlined a plan for having the tryout experience take place in school. He wrote:

Now, to provide an opening for these fellows in the trades, such a school as I have referred to would have to take them at fourteen or fifteen, when they leave the grammar school, and "try them out" so to speak, up to sixteen; so that by the time they are sixteen it would be possible to ascertain whether they were fitted for any mechanical trade, and it also ought to be possible, under good management, to tell what trade they are fitted for.

This plan was at that time actually in effect in a San Francisco school but was not widely adopted till after 1915 (see Chapters 4 and 10).

Summary. Books offering systematic occupational information addressed to parents, teachers, educators, and incidentally to the young began to appear as early as 1747. Guidance in the choice of a vocation was for the most part general in nature, except when combined with occupational information; many of the books giving occupational information were written to guide in the choice of a vocation. We find that early books on occupational information total

² *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

³ William Drysdale, *Helps for Ambitious Boys* (1899), p. 122.

nearly forty. A few of these were textbooks in form if not in fact. This indicates the extent of early interest in guiding young people. The need for vocational tryouts and for guidance in vocational education, placement, and readjustment, in co-operation with the schools, was being expressed definitely before 1908, but with little or no response on the part of the schools and colleges.

Chapter IV

Counselors in Literature and Life: The Proposals Become More Definite

INSPIRATIONAL writing, biographies of success, and information on occupational opportunities—these by themselves being inadequate, what early proposals were made to supplement them? Replete with instances of counseling are both classical and modern literature: Homer, the Bible, Dante, Shakespeare, Scott, Chesterfield—these and scores more might be cited. But let us turn to more definite counsel of the youth who would solve his vocational problems.

Vocational counsel addressed to young men. *A Present for an Apprentice*, "by a late Lord Mayor of London,"¹ is dated 1741. It treats such topics as temperance, government of the tongue, quarrels, gaming, the company of women, poor relations, the value of time, and recreations. In *Readings for Young Men, Merchants, and Men of Business*, reprinted in Boston in 1859 from the London edition, this statement from the Boston Board of Trade appeared: "The remarks which we hear every day are false, if the class to whom it (the book) is addressed do not need—much need—the counsels and warnings which it contains." The following and other topics like them are included: perseverance, self-reliance, sincerity, steadiness of purpose, how to make money, the secret of success, gambling, and "moral agriculture." Among selections from literature quoted in the book are the famous advice of Polonius to his son, from *Hamlet*, and Micawber's advice to David Copperfield on balancing receipts and expenditures.

Hogarth's famous series of engravings on the two apprentices, published in 1747, was intended for vocational and moral guidance. The first engraving shows a pamphlet called "Prentice's Guide," but we have not been able to find it. This series of pictures was ancestor to all the stories in which the industrious boy marries the boss's daughter, inherits the business, and becomes prosperous and famous! (For a reproduction of these prints see *Occupations*, June and October, 1933.)

On August 21, 1838, an address on "The Choice of a Profession" was delivered before the Society of Inquiry at Amherst College by

¹ A London bookseller informs us that the designated authorship is doubtless a fiction used to help the sale of the pamphlet!

Albert Barnes. After explaining that the choice is important because (1) it affects one's character—for instance, a doctor develops different character traits from those of an army officer, (2) the people and things one works with affect him, and (3) one's vocation affects his future life, he pointed out two dangers surrounding the choice of a profession: the love of money and the desire for fame.

In an address on "Greatness," delivered before the Amherst Social Union on June 10, 1868, Emerson made an earnest appeal to young men, in choosing a course in life, to listen to the guiding voice of the mentor from within and to cultivate these three elements of success and greatness: self-respect, catholicity of culture, and humility.

Vocational counselors proposed. Juan Huarte, a Spanish philosopher, prepared a work in 1575 which was translated into English in 1604 as *The Examination of Men's Wits*, "in which, by discovering the variety of natures, is showed for what profession each one is apt, and how far he shall profit therein." The following selection is from the Preface, which is addressed to the King of Spain:

. . . now to the end that he may not err in choosing that which fitteth best with his own nature, there should be deputed in the commonwealth, men of great wisdom and knowledge, who might discover each one's wit in his tender age, and cause him perforce to study that science which is agreeable for him, not permitting him to make his own choice: whence this good would ensue to your states signiories; that in them should reside the rarest artificers of the world, and their works should be of the greatest perfection, for nought else than because they united art with nature.

He felt that such a policy would benefit the individual as well as the state, for "it is a grief to see that a man should take pains, and beat his brains about a matter wherein he cannot reap any advantage." He begins his book by showing that all the training Cicero gave his son Mark did not make him the scholar his father was, and throughout he refers frequently to the great philosophers, Socrates, Plato, and others, and to the Bible. Of the way in which teachers should consider prospective students he writes (page 4):

And (at least if I were a teacher) before I received any scholar into my school, I would go to many trials and experiments with him, until I might discover the quality of his wit, and if I found it by nature directed to that science whereof I made profession, I would willingly receive him . . . and if not, I would counsel him to study that science which were most agreeable to his wit.

The proposals of Lysander Richards. *Vocophy*, a small volume by Lysander Salmon Richards, published in 1881, describes and advocates a new profession for enabling persons to find their right vocations. The following statement is from the Preface:

All we claim to perform is to bring order out of chance and chaos, and form or establish a system to enable a person to find the most fitting pursuit in which he can reap the greatest success that it is possible for him individually to attain.

The following account is given (pages 20, 32, 33) of the necessary qualities, training, and duties of the counselor:

There is a place in life for every individual, but what vocation it is that will give one the greatest success is the question. First, the counsellor through whom this information must come should be studious, wise and observing. He must be trained in all things which will in the least aid in determining the special occupations to which each person is adapted. He must gain not a special, but a general knowledge of the arts and sciences of philosophy; must learn the requirements of the professions, of music, of statesmanship, and all the various trades.

To discover the gift or genius latent in an individual, favorable conditions and circumstances must be brought to bear upon him, after looking into the physiological, phrenological and physiognomical indications of his powers and abilities, recount to him thoughtfully and carefully the leading features of every trade, profession, or occupation, the results, operation and their requirements; gain from him in passing from the description of one pursuit to another the measure of his dislike or like for each, and note it down, also gain the measure of his mental and physical ability for each and all.

He also stipulated that the counselor should know the physical requirements of each vocation, and the mental, moral, and social requirements, and that he should study the heredity of the candidates.

Richards envisioned a profession like that of law and medicine, whose practitioners would have "gained a knowledge enabling them to name a vocation in which the applicant can achieve the greatest success" (page 51). He pictured such counselors in every city and large town, working in private offices, and he proposed plans for preparing these "vocophers" as follows (pages 41-42):

A professorship of Vocophy might be added to some College, Institute, or University, where especial attention could be given to its study. The other method, which is the most preferable, is the establishment of an institution, well equipped with teachers and professors who are

experts in the studies to be followed, and can impart their knowledge to the students in a practical manner. The time occupied in preparation for this profession should be no less than in the profession of law, and even after its practice begins, he who would expect to reap the greatest success will continue his studies until he becomes master of his profession.

That Richards was prepared with patience is shown in his prefatory statement that centuries would pass before the ideas he proposed would be carried out effectively.

The book contains an interesting chapter of illustrations of men whose first choice was a mistaken one. It concludes with an outline for the study of the individual and a list of vocations, with their requirements. These lists, of course, amuse us today perhaps as much as the present lists will amuse the students of sixty years hence.

Although Richards seems to have been a man in comfortable circumstances, and although he had had experience in educational work, he seems not to have organized any attempt to carry out his plan. In another book, *Incidents in the Life and Times of Lysander S. Richards*, published in 1925 when he was ninety years of age, he mentions (page 45) the publication of *Vocophy* and speaks of himself as the founder of the vocational guidance movement. It seems certain that Bloomfield, in his Harvard courses, acknowledged Richards' plans and that Professor Henry C. Metcalf, of Tufts College, and Frank Locke, the general superintendent of the Young Men's Christian Union of Boston, acknowledged the priority and importance of his proposals.

In spite of the book *Vocophy*, however, we must conclude that Lysander S. Richards is not the founder of the modern vocational guidance movement, for the following reasons :

1. Although he had been a teacher, he did not see the educational implications of the work and did not relate it to the schools.
2. His interests and manner of writing were decidedly too naïve and unusual, even for that early day, to lead to the implementation of his ideas.
3. He made no attempt to carry his proposals into effect, and nothing came of his plans.

Richards was a man of diversified interests, with experience in business and manufacturing. His several books deal chiefly with natural phenomena and are replete with speculative hypotheses relating to nature and to man.

The proposals of *Looking Backward*. It is certain, of course,

that Frank Parsons, who was for a time frankly a socialist, had read and digested Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, issued in 1887. A recent note by Anthony J. Russo in *Occupations* for March, 1941, calls attention to some remarkable proposals by Bellamy for the year 2000 A.D. In Chapter 7 he indicates that occupational choice in his revised industrial system is made by "every man for himself in accordance with his natural aptitude, the utmost pains being taken to enable him to find out what his aptitude really is." He continues as follows:

. . . As an individual's satisfaction during his term of service depends on his having an occupation to his taste, parents and teachers watch from early years for indications of special aptitudes in children. A thorough study of the National industrial system, with the history and rudiments of all the great trades, is an essential part of our educational system. While manual training is not allowed to encroach on the general intellectual culture to which our schools are devoted, it is carried far enough to give our youth, in addition to their theoretical knowledge of the national industries, mechanical and agricultural, a certain familiarity with their tools and methods. Our schools are constantly visiting our workshops, and often are taken on long excursions to inspect particular industrial enterprises. In your day a man was not ashamed to be grossly ignorant of all trades except his own, but such ignorance would not be consistent with our idea of placing every one in a position to select intelligently the occupation for which he has most taste.

Here are suggested, although certainly in very sketchy form, classes in occupational information, tryout experiences, industrial visits, and guidance for self-guidance. On later pages a study of trends is suggested and Bellamy proposes a scheme for balancing wages, hours, and advantages and disadvantages so that workers will shift voluntarily from one occupation to another, thus maintaining the orderly and adequate flow of the specific goods required to meet human needs. Every worker is to have a second and third choice of vocation. He proposes three years of common labor for everyone; this was some years before William James's essay, *The Moral Equivalent for War* (1910). After this service Bellamy would allow the specially gifted to study for professions.

Did Parsons derive definite ideas from these few pages? It seems unlikely, for two reasons: first, the gap in time, twenty years; and, second, the fact that the one thing which Parsons emphasized most, expert counseling, is hardly suggested in *Looking Backward*.

Other proposals. In Chapter 16 we note the founding in London

of the Central Employment Bureau for Women in 1898, and of the Future Career Association in 1904, both before Parsons' work developed.

The profession of guidance was definitely suggested in 1907 by Rollins, who said in *What Can a Young Man Do?* "The guidance of coming generations through the period of school life when so much depends upon the personality of the guide, should be sufficiently attractive to young men who are to choose life's work on its merits."

British plans for counseling. The *Manchester Guardian* of October 26, 1907, quoted a resolution of the National Council of Women which recommended that an information bureau where girls and boys might be guided in the choice of suitable occupations be established. The proposal reads, in part:

In view of the recognized public need of encouraging boys and girls, on leaving the elementary schools, to enter some definite line of employment and, if possible, to continue school attendance in some form, the Government should communicate with the local authorities, recommending them to investigate the possibilities of employment in the trades and industries of the district, and to consider the question of establishing under each education committee an information bureau where boys and girls, or parents on their behalf, may be guided in the choice of suitable occupations—industrial, commercial, professional and other. The educational expert in charge of the bureau should have a talk with the pupil or with any parent that wished, and while advising with regard to the suitable continuation classes, might endeavour to guide in the choice of an occupation.

In 1908 Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon² explained as the first duty of the Director of the proposed Education and Employment Bureau:

Interviewing and advising boys and girls and their parents or guardians if possible, both with regard to further educational courses for the boys and girls and the most suitable occupations; the regulation interviews to be given during the last three months of the boys' or girls' compulsory attendance at School; subsequent interviews at set office hours.

Charles W. Eliot speaks. Vocational guidance was inherent in a number of utterances of President Eliot extending from his earliest years as president of Harvard University up to his famous essay,

² From a draft copy of Mrs. Gordon's plan for School Board Management of Education and Employment Bureau, supplied by the Scottish Education Department.

"The Value During Education of the Life-Career Motive," read at the meeting of the National Education Association in 1910. In 1892, at meetings of the National Education Association in Brooklyn and Saratoga, New York, President Eliot had spoken as follows:

Another important function of the public school in a democracy is the discovery and development of the gift or capacity of each individual child. This discovery should be made at the earliest practicable age, and, once made, should always influence, and sometimes determine, the education of the individual. It is for the interest of society to make the most of every useful gift or faculty which any member may fortunately possess; and it is one of the main advantages of fluent and mobile democratic society to secure the fruition of individual capacities. To make the most of any individual's peculiar power, it is important to discover it early, and then train it continuously and assiduously. It is wonderful what apparently small personal gifts may become the means of conspicuous service or achievement, if only they get discovered, trained, and applied.

Although counseling was implied in the above statement, its author never arrived at an understanding of the necessity for it. Under the influence of an extreme view of the liberty of the individual, he was responsible for actual neglect of this important element in guidance. Consequently, he seemed never to understand the need for systematic trial of powers, nor for systematic study of occupations, nor for planned counseling. Moreover, and more serious still, President Eliot never seemed to distinguish clearly (1) the kinds of education which prepare specifically for such activities of life as citizenship, home membership, leisure and recreation, religion, and the like from (2) those concerned with preparation for the vocational activity. Perhaps he really believed that vocational life could be liberalized or that, as at Oxford or Cambridge, a man could combine his vocational and general objectives by an ever widening reach of vision and study as his higher education proceeded. The American plan, whether right or wrong, provides for specialization in preparation for the vocation *after* the period of liberal education. An inspection of the quotation above will indicate that President Eliot's point of view actually endangered liberal education by seeming to curtail its time and scope.

In spite of this defect, however, if Eliot had understood something of the *techniques* required in guidance and had applied them in Harvard College, he might have initiated the movement. Some

more hopeful early proposals for the college are cited in Chapter 17.

Actual practice begins: George A. Merrill. We come now to what seems to be the first systematic attempt, under educational auspices, to set up a plan calculated to help pupils select a vocation. The plan is based on what is now known as exploratory and tryout courses in the industrial arts. It grew out of the vision of a man who connected the vague efforts of manual training with the rising movement for vocational education or training.

George Arthur Merrill began his teaching work in a manual-training high school (Cogswell School) in San Francisco in 1888. In 1894 he was selected to organize a new school, the California School of Mechanic Arts, established by bequest of James Lick. While still at the old school, Merrill had proposed that the four-year course in manual training, still somewhat vague and pointless, be condensed to occupy the first two years of high school, with the last two years devoted to specialized trade preparation. It was this plan which he worked out at the new school, and which he used as well at the Wilmerding School of Industrial Arts and the Lux Technical Institute (the three schools later combined under Mr. Merrill's direction).

This plan as worked out in August, 1894, and actually begun in January, 1895, is essentially as follows:

1. Two years of sample exercises drawn from simple work in each of the trades taught by the school, with about half of the time given to such studies as English, civics, mathematics, and science.
2. Study of the individual and counseling.
3. Choice by the pupil of a specific trade.
4. Two years of preparation for a trade, including related technical studies.
5. Placement at work, and follow-up.

It will be seen that most of the elements of a comprehensive plan of vocational guidance are present in this scheme. It is true that there was no systematic study of occupational information, and no person designated as counselor, but the management of the school furnished somewhat of the equivalent.

Merrill had early studied the systems of manual training which were extensively publicized at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876—the Russian system, which confined itself to exercises like the making of joints, with no practical uses, and the Swedish system, under which an assigned sequence of practical articles was provided for. His mind went one step further: sample projects

to explore several specific trades, with the object of choosing a vocation. Mr. Merrill freely admits that others may have been thinking of the same idea. He made several trips east and had long conferences with Calvin M. Woodward of St. Louis, Frederick H. Rindge of Cambridge, and Dr. H. H. Belfield of Chicago. Near the end of 1894, when he conferred with Belfield in Chicago, the latter remarked, in substance: "Merrill, you have stolen my thunder. The plan you have proposed is exactly what I would adopt for my school if I were free to do so." Apparently, however, none of the three men had previously proposed the idea.

George A. Merrill, even more than Lysander Richards, might conceivably be said to have initiated vocational guidance. In fact, he actually did that. Yet it can hardly be said that he is the founder of the vocational guidance movement; indeed he has never claimed it. This conclusion must rest on the following considerations:

1. The purpose of his school was vocational education; vocational guidance was incidental to his purpose, hence not emphasized and publicized.³
2. As a consequence of this difference of purpose, Merrill gave no actual name to the process of helping students select their vocations; a name for the process might have helped in its establishment.
3. The plan was devised as much to give a broad basis of versatility and adaptability—aims in training rather than guidance—as to aid in the actual choice of a trade.
4. Counseling as a specific function was not organized and delegated to specific persons in any such way as that advocated by Parsons.⁴
5. Naturally the school, while selecting its pupils carefully, made no attempt to generalize the opportunity for guidance, as did Parsons, by offering it to all comers. It was distinctly guidance within the industrial field, and for a specific school.

³ The power of this matter of emphasis is very great. Thus Charles A. Bennett, in his two-volume *History of Industrial Education*, gives only a paragraph to Merrill, stating that he had a four-year program, two years of manual training and two of trade preparation. Bennett's interest is in industrial education, ours in vocational guidance.

⁴ Nevertheless attention to the individual was a feature of the plan; besides the discovery of talent for the trades, artistic ability and college-preparatory aptitude were sought out in the school. Merrill writes to the author:

"From the beginning of Lick School (January 1895) we used to discuss the progress and outlook of individual pupils, not only at teachers' meetings but also at the table at the dinner hour. We also kept in close contact with pupils at the end of each quarter. Also, on Friday afternoon I had a consultation hour, with all the boys in the high tenth grade, in anticipation of their reaching decisions in the matter of selecting their major courses to be pursued in the eleventh and twelfth grades."

Though this excellent plan for trade selection has been in continuous operation for almost half a century, for the above reasons it did not seem to call into play the vocational guidance movement.

Early work of Weaver and Wheatley. Two other men should be noted as having made early beginnings, one of them before the activities of Parsons. Eli W. Weaver, Principal of the Boys' High School in Brooklyn, New York, was much interested, beginning about 1904, in the placement of high-school boys for summer work and for part-time work parallel with their schooling. In Chapter 8 we shall describe his activities further. It is fair to say, however, that most of Weaver's early interest was in placement rather than in the other elements of a comprehensive program, yet he early published books on occupational information, also to be noted below.

William A. Wheatley, as we shall explain in Chapter 10, inaugurated definitely scheduled classes in occupational information in September, 1908; it was the first instance that has come to our notice of such classes.

Early efforts of Davis. Jesse B. Davis did extensive work in vocational guidance before the time of Parsons. From 1898 to 1907, while he was eleventh-grade principal (or class counselor) in the Central High School of Detroit, he spent most of his time in the active counseling of five hundred boys and girls on their educational problems and vocational careers. On becoming principal of the Grand Rapids High School in 1907 he added to the above program for all pupils, beginning with the seventh grade, a once-a-week period in English composition devoted to "vocational and moral guidance." Other studies, notably history, were likewise utilized for guidance purposes.

From 1910 to 1916 Davis frequently lectured about his plan, carrying his message to groups of teachers and others in thirty-eight states. Summer school units or courses were given by him at the state universities of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, and Nebraska. Other activities of Davis will be described below.

It is impossible for us, at this distance, to estimate the effect of these activities or to compare them with those of Parsons and Bloomfield to be described below. We should rather consider all these efforts cumulative and maintain that the "movement" grew out of the efforts of all the early pioneers, not excluding any. It seems truth to say that at least so far as common opinion is concerned the chief impetus of the movement points back toward the beginnings by Parsons. We cannot deny, however, that such opinions are largely

psychological, depending upon trends early begun and particularly upon publicity. The reader is invited to remember that the credit for the inauguration of any important movement must usually be shared.

Work of individual teachers. It would be ungracious not to pay tribute as well to those teachers in hundreds of high schools and colleges who gave guidance to students but had no interest in starting a movement. Long before vocational guidance was named these devoted persons collected college catalogues, aroused ambition, studied aptitudes, counseled, paved the way ahead, and followed with friendly counsel over the years.

Doubtless our story would have been very different had any of these other persons—or Richards, Merrill, Weaver, Wheatley, Davis—chosen to organize and use the engines of publicity employed by Parsons and Bloomfield.

Favorable educational setting. It is true that conditions must be right before a new movement can emerge. Dean Davis reminds us that the decades before 1900 were characterized by many forces that made the need for vocational guidance evident. We have noted several of these conditions in our early pages. He adds to these the introduction of commercial curriculums, the enormous growth of enrollment in secondary schools resulting in the broadening of the program of studies to include the sciences, practical arts, manual training, and home economics, together with the school-leaving and child-labor problems leading to compulsory education laws.

Ready for the wider opportunity? Whatever the intricacies of the early beginnings, the definite hints such as those of Richards, and the plans and accomplishments of Merrill, Davis, and others, we are now ready to trace the efforts that are ordinarily considered to have furnished the foundation of the vocational guidance movement. Let us, then, turn to the man Frank Parsons and find out, if we can, who he was and what he did for the movement that usually designates him as its founder.

Frank Parsons and the Establishment of the Vocation Bureau

FRANK PARSONS was born on November 14, 1854, at Mount Holly, New Jersey. He was the son of Edward Parsons (for a time the name was written Parson) and Alice Rhees Parsons. His ancestors on his father's side were English and on his mother's Welsh and Scotch-Irish.

Parsons' early education was obtained at home and at a local private school. In 1869, when almost sixteen years of age, he entered Cornell University and graduated with a high record in mathematics and engineering.

He begins vocational criticism and experience. While at college Parsons pursued an independent course of study that began admirably to fit him for dealing with problems of civic life. Among other books thoroughly mastered during this period, John Stuart Mill's *Political Economy* furnished the issues that stirred the young student's future thought.

It was at this time also that he first began to feel that the customs and laws of the industrial system did not harmonize with ethical principles; as time went on, these problems were to absorb more and more of his time and thought.

On leaving college the young engineer secured a position on the civil engineering staff of a railroad company; but the panic of that year caused the failure of the company, and he went to work in a rolling mill, lifting and shearing iron and loading bundles on transfer wagons. For the greater part of a year he worked ten hours a day, receiving thirty-nine dollars a month and walking two miles every morning and night to and from the mill.

He begins teaching. At length a place was offered him in the public schools of a New England manufacturing town, Southbridge. He taught first in a district school, and was promoted to high-school work in mathematics, history, and French. Not confining his labors to his required duties, he entered with enthusiasm into the work of a literary and debating society, and in other ways sought to stimulate the moral and intellectual energies of the young with whom he worked.

He studies law. Among the listeners at the discussions of the debating society was a leading lawyer in the town. This man was

deeply impressed with the masterly manner in which the young teacher presented his arguments. He felt that one so careful in the presentation of facts, so logical in handling a question, so clear and convincing and yet so fair, should be at the bar rather than in the schoolroom. Eventually he awakened in Parsons a desire and a determination to study law. A change from educational work to the supervision of drawing in the schools gave him more time for his new studies.

He then entered the office of a well-known attorney, the Hon. A. J. Bartholomew of Southbridge, and his progress was very rapid. Later he discontinued work for the schools and moved to Worcester, where he finished his studies with the Hon. F. P. Goulding of that city. He completed his study in one year and passed an examination (1881) which the examiners said showed a better ability than had been displayed by any other candidate in the twelve years of their term as an examining board.

But just after his successful examination for the bar a severe trouble overtook the young student and for a time threatened to blight his future career. He had greatly overtaxed his eyes in the study of the law, and his entire system was at the point of exhaustion from overwork. He undertook to survey a tract of land on a raw, cold day toward the close of winter and thus contracted a cold which seriously affected his eyes. On medical advice he went to New Mexico and lived in the open for three years before he could return to his chosen profession.

Work in law, writing, and politics. After this enforced vacation he became chief clerk in a Boston law firm (1885) and developed further his talent for speaking and writing. He soon opened a law office of his own, and shortly thereafter, in 1887, he was given a contract by Messrs. Little, Brown, and Company to revise *Morse, On Banks and Banking*. This work proved so satisfactory that the same publishers engaged him to edit *Perry, On Trusts* and *May, On Insurance* as well as other legal works.

One result of the recognition these writings won for Parsons was an invitation, in 1891, to join the faculty of the Law School of Boston University. His special work was the law of railroads.

Professor Parsons¹ was for many years thereafter considered one

¹ Though called a professor, he was in reality a lecturer in Boston University from 1891 to 1902. Officially he was a professor in two midwestern institutions and dean in one (see below). The Ph.D. degree is often attached to his name, but we are unable to verify it, and he did not give it in his sketch in *Who's Who in America*.

of the best lecturers in the law school, for he possessed the rare ability of presenting his subject with clearness and in an entertaining manner. His memory was a source of constant wonder to his students, who could not understand how it was possible for a lecturer to give from twenty-five to thirty citations of cases by volume and page, during the course of a single lecture, without a note of any kind.

In 1895 Parsons took a short excursion into politics. Nominated by the Socialist, Populist, and Prohibition parties, he ran for the office of Mayor of Boston. The contest was a close one between a Quincy and a Curtis, and Parsons was third with 585 votes—less than 1 per cent.

While still teaching part time at Boston University, Parsons was called in 1897 to the faculty of the Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, at Manhattan, Kansas. Because of his liberal views and his social writings, however, his resignation, as well as those of President Will and others, was forced by the railroad powers in 1899.

Subsequently Professor Parsons was called, with Professor Will and others, to Ruskin University at Glen Ellyn, Illinois. Here he became Dean of the College of Liberal Arts. Later he was instrumental in establishing the Ruskin College of Social Science at Trenton, Missouri.

During these years Professor Parsons spent the winter term lecturing at Boston University and gave the fall and spring terms to work at the other colleges. He also labored indefatigably at his writing and public lecturing. His service as a lecturer on public questions was being sought in all parts of the country.

Parsons as civic reformer. In civic affairs related to taxation, railroads, and municipal government, and by means of three distinct activities, Professor Parsons was now influencing public opinion: first, as a college professor; second, as an author and editor; and, third, as a public lecturer. He was for some time President of the National League for Promoting Public Ownership of Monopolies, a lecturer for the National Direct Legislation League, and chairman of the lecture department of the Social Reform Union.

In 1894 he made his first contribution to *The Arena*, an article entitled "The Philosophy of Mutualism." This was followed, in the same magazine in 1895-96, by a series of papers on "Electric Lighting and Telegraph Monopoly," a powerful indictment of the principle of monopoly.

His books, aside from *Choosing a Vocation* (1909), were as follows:²

- The World's Best Books* (1889)
- Our Country's Need* (1894)
- Rational Money* (1898)
- The Drift of Our Time* (1898)
- The New Political Economy* (1899)
- Telegraph Monopoly* (1899)
- Direct Legislation* (1900)
- The Bondage of Cities* (1900)
- The Story of New Zealand* (1904)
- The Heart of the Railroad Problem* (1906)
- The Railways, the Trusts and the People* (1906)
- Legal Doctrine and Social Progress* (1911, published posthumously)

From his earliest youth Parsons was always a man of high moral convictions. To him the fundamentals of ethics were extremely important. His search for a possible harmony between the existing social order and ethical principles led him to the advocacy of public ownership of monopolies. He soon came to see, however, that public ownership could not succeed while government itself continued to be a private monopoly. It was not long, therefore, before he was found among the leaders of such movements as those for direct legislation, civil service reform, and proportional representation.

The foundation of interest in vocational adjustment. In addition to these civic interests, Parsons' scrutiny of the day-to-day characteristics of the industrial system brought him ever increasing concern for the miserable condition of the great masses enmeshed in this system. He was appalled by the lack of training afforded either before or after employment, by the inefficient methods of selection, and by the generally cruel waste of human effort which industry continued to countenance.

In this connection it is interesting to note even in some of Professor Parsons' earliest writings a keen recognition of the need for what he later termed vocational guidance, as well as repeated gropings toward the formulation of a definite philosophy or theory of action to meet this need. In fact as early as 1894 we find him writing the following in *Our Country's Need*:

The training of a race-horse, and the care of sheep and chickens have

² In publishing some of his books of reform Parsons was helped by his close friend Dr. Charles Freeman Taylor of Philadelphia, editor of the *Medical World*.

been carried to the highest degree of perfection that intelligent planning can attain. But the education of a child, the choice of his employment are left very largely to the ancient haphazard plan—the struggle for existence, and the survival of the fittest. [Page 15.]

Men work best when they are doing what nature has especially fitted them for. And the same laborers will achieve immensely fuller and richer results if they are spurred on by interest, or love, or patriotism, than if these interests or emotions have no partnership in their service. . . . A sensible industrial system will, therefore, seek to make these feelings factors in every piece of work, to put men, as well as timber, iron and stone in places for which their natures fit them,—and to polish and prepare them for efficient service with at least as much care as is being bestowed upon clocks, electric dynamos, and locomotives. [Page 69.]

From these illuminating beginnings Frank Parsons' idea of vocational guidance was evolved. How the idea finally came to crystallization, a year or two before his untimely death, we shall discover in our consideration of the founding and development of the Vocation Bureau of Boston.

Civic Service House of Boston. In 1901, through the generosity of Pauline Agassiz Shaw (Mrs. Quincy Adams Shaw), the Civic Service House, a civic center in the real sense, was established at No. 112 Salem Street,³ Boston, under the leadership of Meyer Bloomfield and Philip Davis, two young men of European birth who had received their own boyhood awakening in the University Settlement of New York and who had just graduated from Harvard College. Work with young children was omitted, and the social side of Civic Service House, contrary to the usual custom, was incidental. A group of active, self-governing clubs was organized, emphasizing constantly the civic interests, rights, and duties of the members.

Among other civic-minded Bostonians who contributed their services to this worthy enterprise we find Frank Parsons. The lack of educational opportunities for the membership of these clubs soon attracted his notice, and to meet this need there was established at the Civic Service House, in 1905, at the instigation and under the direction of Parsons, ably assisted by Ralph Albertson, a unique educational venture called the Breadwinners' College. Thus Parsons turned to the education of youth. From its very name it is easy to see

³ Building since torn down. A walk through the Salem Street of today reveals the present need for something more than traditional schooling.

that this interesting educational experiment is a direct outgrowth of some of his earlier experiences.⁴

The aim of the Breadwinners' College as stated in its prospectus for the term 1905-6 was :

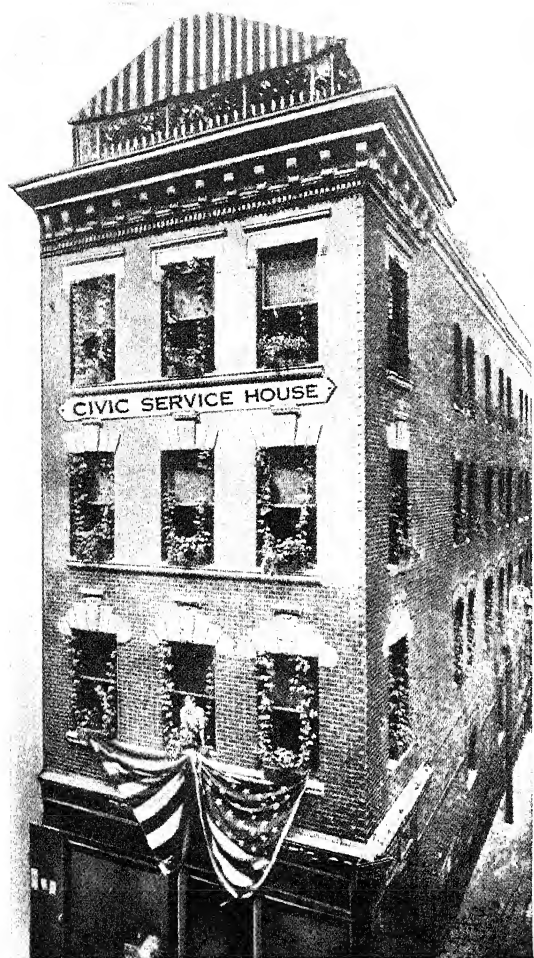
To offer young men and women who are wage earners the elements of a broad culture and a careful training in the best methods of thought and work. The occupations and daily experiences of the pupils will be kept constantly in mind in planning work for classes. An effort will be made to discover and develop the special endowments of each individual, to make them of use to him and to his neighbors, and also to bring him into active contact with the life and progress of city, state, and nation.

The classes of the Breadwinners' College (the name was soon changed to Breadwinners' Institute) necessarily met in the evenings and on Sunday afternoons. The courses offered included history and civics, English language and composition, literature and biography, sciences, industrial history and economics, life principles and practical psychology, and music and voice culture. The other faculty members were Meyer Bloomfield, Philip Davis, Charles F. Dole, Mrs. Bloomfield, Roger Gardner, and Ralph Albertson. Parsons and Albertson together taught the two courses called Industrial History

⁴Why did this publicist and law-school lecturer turn to participation in the educational program of a social settlement? Possibly he had concluded that only by education could his far-reaching plans find ultimate realization. Perhaps this explanation is confirmed by the fact that he published in the January 1906 *Century Magazine* a long letter in explanation of Wilson L. Gill's plans for "pupil self-government." Also, Philip Davis tells us, Parsons felt the need of companionship and cheer. A bachelor, overzealous in solitary study and writing, he went to Civic Service House for friendship and for relief from sedentary work.

Unfortunate mistakes have been made in *Problems of Vocational Guidance*, issued by the International Labour Office, Geneva, 1935. On page 6 Professor Parsons is said to have been concerned with "young derelicts in New York, for whom he tried to find employment," and it is further stated that this led to the organization of the Bureau for Vocational Guidance in Boston. This small statement has four mistakes. Likewise, two errors occur in a 1939 government pamphlet, *Occupational Information and Guidance: Organization and Administration* (Voc. Div. Bul. 204; this will be revised in a later printing), which has it that Parsons' work grew out of his efforts to find employment for young adults and followed closely after the opening of the first vocational guidance bureau in Munich in 1902. Parsons was not interested in getting jobs. And there is no evidence of any such institution in Munich; perhaps there has been confusion with the founding of continuation schools by Dr. Kirschensteiner.

Civic Service House was no ordinary neighborhood house. While it is true that their economic standards were not high, most of the men and women who came to its classes were successful, intelligent, and ambitious for self-cultivation and progress.



CIVIC SERVICE HOUSE

In the "North End" of Boston, 112 Salem Street, this was a different social settlement, with emphasis on *youth* and *citizenship*. Here Parsons began his talks, classes, discussions, counseling, and case-studies, which led to the development of organized vocational guidance. See Chapter 5 and Appendix C.

and Economics, and Life Principles, Practical Psychology, and Methods.

It was not long after this work was well started that Professor Parsons delivered a lecture one evening, probably during 1906, at the Economic Club in Boston, entitled "The Ideal City," in which, so he later stated, he set forth the need of help for youth in the choice of a vocation.⁵ Meyer Bloomfield at once realized the significance of this idea and invited Parsons to give a similar talk to the graduating class of one of the evening high schools of Boston.

This talk, given evidently in the late spring of 1907, proved to be of such interest to these young wage earners that many of them stopped after the talk to request personal interviews. These requests were promptly granted, and so began the individual counseling from which developed a plan for systematic vocational guidance.

The Vocation Bureau of Boston is organized. It was not until the fall of 1907 that Parsons found the leisure in which to put his plans for a vocation bureau on paper and submit them to Mrs. Shaw, who enthusiastically approved and promptly pledged the financial support which made the launching of the new enterprise possible.

The Vocation Bureau of Boston was formally opened on January 13, 1908 (as stated in the May 1 report of that year—see below), on the premises of the Civic Service House. The first few months were occupied largely with recruiting an organization. Parsons was given the title of Director and Vocational Counselor. Ralph Albertson, who was Employment Supervisor at William Filene's Sons Company, Philip Davis, who was Secretary of the Civic Service House, and Mrs. Lucinda Prince, who was later to found the Prince School of Store Salesmanship, were designated as associate counselors; Harvey S. Chase acted as treasurer.

An executive committee was formed, consisting of the following: Paul H. Hanus, Professor of Education at Harvard University and Chairman of the Massachusetts State Commission on Industrial Education; F. P. Speare, Educational Director of the Young Men's Christian Association; Mrs. Mary Morton Kehew, President of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union; Lincoln Filene, General Manager of William Filene's Sons Company and member of the State Commission on Industrial Education; John F. Tobin, General President of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union; J. L. Richards,

⁵ See Frank Parsons, "The Vocation Bureau," *The Arena*, July 1908; also *Choosing a Vocation*, p. 91. Parsons states that the lecture was originally given about 1894, but we have not been able to trace it.

President of the Boston Consolidated Gas Company; Meyer Bloomfield, Director of the Civil Service House; Professor Parsons, ex officio.⁶

Besides the main office at the Civic Service House, branch offices were established at the Young Men's Christian Association, the Economic Club, and the Women's Educational and Industrial Union. At all these places Parsons himself held office hours during alternating lunch periods and evenings throughout the week.

Parsons based his counseling on the following principles:⁷

1. It is better to choose a vocation than merely to hunt a job.
2. No one should choose a vocation without careful self-analysis, thorough, honest, and under guidance.
3. The youth should have a large survey of the field of vocations, and not simply drop into the convenient or accidental position.
4. Expert advice, or the advice of men who have made a careful study of men and vocations and of the conditions of success, must be better and safer for a young man than the absence of it.
5. The putting down on paper of a self-analysis is of supreme importance.

⁶ Many other public-spirited Bostonians lent their names as trustees or sponsors—among them George H. Martin, Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education; W. E. Huntington, President of Boston University; Caroline Hazard, President of Wellesley College; George W. Mehaffey, General Secretary of the Y.M.C.A.; Henry Abrahams, Secretary of the Boston Central Labor Union; Charles F. Dole, President of the Twentieth Century Club; Charles F. Gettamy, Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics; Charles Zueblin, author, lecturer, and formerly professor of sociology at the University of Chicago; Robert Treat Paine, Jr., publicist; E. H. Clement, Editor of the *Boston Transcript*; Magnus W. Alexander, of the General Electric Company; Mrs. Mary Alden Ward, President of The Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs; Charles Francis Adams, lawyer, author, and formerly president of the Union Pacific Railroad; Louis Brandeis, lawyer; Charles Fleischer, Rabbi of Temple Israel; Lucius Tuttle, President of the Boston and Maine Railroad; Bernard J. Rothwell, President of the Boston Chamber of Commerce; Louis A. Frothingham, lawyer and formerly speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives; Henry L. Higginson, banker; Arthur A. Noyes, Acting President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and Henry LeFavour, President of Simmons College.

As the work developed and the activities of the bureau broadened, many public-spirited men and women also contributed generously toward its financial support and thus made it possible for the bureau, from the very beginning, to offer its services entirely without charge. The Vocation Bureau was supported from the first by Mrs. Shaw and by Mr. Lincoln Filene, who gave substantial contributions beginning in 1910. In addition to these two there were forty or fifty contributors, including Henry S. Dennison, David A. Ellis, E. K. Hall, Lewis K. Liggett, Charles W. Eliot, Augustus P. Loring, Lawrence Minot, J. F. McElwain, Richard D. Sears, and Arthur Winslow.

⁷ Introductory note by Ralph Albertson in *Choosing a Vocation*, Frank Parsons (1909).

On May 1, 1908, Parsons made to the Executive Committee his first report of the work of the Vocation Bureau. This report is particularly valuable for two reasons: (1) it contains the first available recorded use of the term "vocational guidance," and (2) in it Parsons advocates that this work become a part of the public-school system in every community.

Parsons' first and only report. This May 1 report, one of the most important documents in the history of vocational guidance, has never before been put into print; we therefore reproduce it in the Appendix. Several passages in revised form were used for Parsons' posthumous book, *Choosing a Vocation*. Likewise many of the illustrative papers used by Parsons are to be found in that volume; we have indicated the pages by notes throughout the report.

The scope of vocational guidance as understood by Parsons. We here place together two quotations which show Parsons' concept of vocational guidance:

From *Choosing a Vocation* (page 5): "In the choice of a vocation there are three broad factors: (1) a clear understanding of yourself; . . . (2) a knowledge of the requirements and conditions for success . . . in different lines of work; (3) true reasoning on the relation of these two groups of facts."

From *The Arena* of July, 1908: "The Vocation Bureau is intended to aid young people in choosing an occupation, preparing themselves for it, finding an opening in it, and building up a career of efficiency and success."⁸

The book *Choosing a Vocation*. From May 1 until his death on September 26, 1908, Parsons was able to do little except participate in plans for the extension of the work and put his notes in order for the publication of his book. Ralph Albertson was his liter-

⁸ It was from these analyses that the so-called "six steps in the vocational progress of an individual" were formulated ten years later: laying a broad foundation of useful experiences, studying occupational opportunities, choosing an occupation, preparing for the occupation, entering upon work, securing promotions and making readjustments (*The Vocational Guidance Movement*, p. viii).

In *Vocational Guidance in Secondary Education*, Bulletin No. 19, U.S. Bureau of Education (1918), a Report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (which issued *Cardinal Principles* in 1918), the following "eight steps" in a program of vocational guidance were given: survey of the world's work, studying and testing pupils' possibilities, guidance in choice and re-choice of vocation, guidance with reference to preparation for vocation, guidance in entering upon work (placement), guidance in employment (employment supervision), progressive modification of school practices, progressive modification of economic conditions. Here is perhaps the first statement of a *social aim* in vocational guidance.

ary executor and prepared the book for the public, dating the Preface May 1, 1909. This book has had a wide sale and is still in active circulation. Its three parts are logically arranged and developed. First comes "The Personal Investigation," next "The Industrial Investigation," and third "The Organization and the Work."

It is true that there is much subjective treatment, but certainly no more than was common in educational writings of that date. It must be remembered that Binet's work in mental testing was in its infancy and that little had been done in experimental psychology beyond experiments in the use of the senses. The mental hygiene movement was originated the same year the book was published. That Parsons today would make full use of psychological and vocational tests in estimating ability is abundantly evidenced. An instance of such readiness is given from page 22 of the book:

Sometimes the counselor may wish to test the nerve and delicacy of touch. One way to do this is to have a series of very small circles $1/16$ or $1/32$ of an inch in diameter and, giving the applicant a fine-pointed pencil, ask him to put a dot in the center of each little circle and one exactly in the middle between each two circles, and make a mark at a given point on each of the circles in the group.

There is a slight reference to phrenology on pages 21 and 22, where Parsons states that he observes the shape of the head of the applicants and the relative development before, above, and behind the ears. Yet the book is remarkably free from hints of the pseudo-sciences. Both its historical and present value should place it on the bookshelf of every counselor.

Counseling methods used. The book gives ample illustration of the methods Parsons used in his individual counseling and clearly shows the educational nature of his approach: that the person being counseled was to *learn*, not merely be told what to do.

Parsons was in the habit of assigning some sort of task to the people he counseled. For instance there is a printed form called "Schedule B; Vocation Bureau and Breadwinners' Institute, Civic Service House. In reading ——— under agreement with The Vocation Bureau . . . make a page or more of keynotes⁹ on the

⁹ The following points are suggested: the half dozen most important facts; the leading events of the book; the principles you think most vital; the chief characters and their most striking characteristics; the most interesting and inspiring ideas; the most helpful suggestions and their applications to your life; passages that are especially beautiful, novel, useful, or humorous; the things that interest you most of all, with reasons; the ethical aspects, or right or wrong of the book, its characters, ideas, and principles; criticism as to purpose, methods, make-up, style, etc.,

following points and talk them over with the counselor for the mutual benefit of all concerned. Put page references after each point you note."

Plans for the preparation of counselors. On pages 93 to 95 of the book plans are outlined for a "school for vocational counselors" established by the Y.M.C.A. A circular prospectus of this department, not reproduced in the book, announces the first meeting for October 5, 1908. The opening statement follows:

THE VOCATION DEPARTMENT
OF THE
EVENING INSTITUTE
BOSTON YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION
1908

THE VOCATION BUREAU
Y.M.C.A. BRANCH

To aid young men in testing their aptitudes and abilities, choosing an occupation, selecting the best means of preparing for it and building up a career of efficiency and success.

Prof. Frank Parsons, of the Civic Service House, Director and Counsellor.

SCHOOL FOR VOCATION COUNSELLORS

To fit young men to become vocation counsellors and manage vocation bureaux in connection with Young Men's Christian Associations, schools, colleges, universities, and public systems, associations and business establishments anywhere in the country.

Prof. Frank Parsons, Dean.

The Employment Department of the Y.M.C.A. acts in co-ordination with the Vocation Department of the Institute.

Parsons, after an illness of several weeks, passed away nine days before the date set for the first meeting of this school, and its plans were carried out by Albertson (see Chapter 14).

The founder of organized vocational guidance. A study of the work of Frank Parsons, at the Civic Service House and at the newly

of the book; comparison of the book with others you have read; general utility—application of its facts, teachings, etc., to individuals, society, government, industry, civilization, etc.

organized Vocation Bureau, and of his book, *Choosing a Vocation*, leads to the following conclusions:

1. Vocational guidance grew out of voluntary educational, civic, and social work; it did not originate in any of the fields of business, industry, psychology, placement, personnel work, scientific management, division of labor, public education, vocational education, government, employer associations, labor unions, or religious or parental effort.
2. Parsons paved the way for undertaking the work in schools, both by the methods he used and by the direct statement that schools and colleges should undertake the work.
3. He began the training of counselors, planning group meetings for that purpose.
4. He used all the scientific tools available to him; there is evidence that he would have used various kinds of standardized tests if these had then been available. He used rating sheets, interview techniques, and specific assignments. His book has hints of the tryout plan, versatility, and follow-up.
5. He refrained from the use of phrenology and other false methods, in spite of their popularity during his entire lifetime.
6. He analyzed the problem of vocational guidance far enough to furnish what later writers called "six steps in the vocational progress of an individual."
7. He organized the work of the Vocation Bureau of Boston for the collection of information, group study of such information, study of the individual, counseling, etc., in a way which laid the groundwork for successful operation of such effort in schools, colleges, and other agencies.
8. He recognized the importance of his work and secured appropriate publicity for it. He secured financial support for the bureau and the endorsement and supervision of educators, employers, and other public men and women.
9. He enlisted friends and associates in such a manner as to lead to the continuance and expansion of the movement. For their help he prepared much written material, including the manuscript for *Choosing a Vocation*.

In the light of the above facts, it seems right that Frank Parsons be designated as the founder of the movement for organized vocational guidance.

The Vocation Bureau of Boston and the Work at Harvard University

ALTHOUGH Parsons undoubtedly should be called the founder of the organized vocational guidance movement, his effort might easily have passed away without perpetuation when he was forced to give up his work.

Eight necessary persons. Every movement requires co-operative action for its full inauguration, and the movement for vocational guidance was no exception. It seems fair to say that the following eight people were each and all necessary to the founding and firm establishment of vocational guidance:

1. Frank Parsons furnished the idea for the Vocation Bureau and began its execution.
2. Ralph Albertson was Parsons' constant intellectual companion and co-organizer with him of the Breadwinners' Institute. He served as secretary to the board of trustees of the Vocation Bureau, conducted the first course for the preparation of counselors (see Chapter 14), and prepared *Choosing a Vocation* for publication.
3. David Stone Wheeler, a progressive educator, succeeded Parsons as director of the bureau, and as such assisted the committee which began the first organized work in the Boston schools.
4. Meyer Bloomfield encouraged Parsons from the first, assumed the directorship after Wheeler, and called public attention everywhere to the need for vocational guidance.
5. Professor Paul H. Hanus gave the movement university sponsorship by serving as chairman of the board of trustees of the bureau, and arranging for summer school courses at Harvard University.
6. Pauline Agassiz Shaw supported financially both the Civic Service House, where Parsons first operated, and the Vocation Bureau of Boston, which Parsons organized.
7. Lincoln Filene, interested in the bureau from the start, sponsored it to employers, and also supported it financially.
8. Dr. Stratton D. Brooks, Superintendent of Schools of Boston, during the year following that in which the Vocation Bureau was organized asked for help for the schools, introduced vocational counseling into the Boston school system (1909), and thus launched the movement into the school systems of the country.

What to do with the Bureau?¹ With the death of Parsons, the Vocation Bureau of Boston seems to have remained quiescent for a period of more than six months. It is true that the class at the Y.M.C.A. was carried on by Albertson and that this lasted into the early spring of 1909. Meanwhile Bloomfield had issued (undated but doubtless early in 1909) an eight-page pamphlet, *Speakers and Lecturers, on Subjects Dealing with Vocational Direction*. Thirty-one names were given, with subjects for each. Two given by Professor Henry C. Metcalf of Tufts College are of special significance: "A College Course for Vocational Counseling" and "The Employment of Vocational Counselors in Industrial Plants." The address given on this pamphlet is 101 Tremont St.; evidently an office separate from Civic Service House was being maintained, even though Parsons' successor had not been appointed.

About this time Superintendent Brooks of Boston was asking for help in organizing counseling work in the Boston schools, particularly to assist in selecting those pupils who should enter highly specialized courses in industry and commerce in the secondary schools of Boston. It was at this point that the trustees of the Vocation Bureau met to select a successor to Parsons. It seems evident that they were looking for an educator, and Charles Zueblin recommended David Stone Wheeler, who was carrying on progressive methods of education in a private school at Lexington, Massachusetts. Wheeler was a graduate (1901) of Boston University and had already taught sciences at Cushing Academy, Ashburnham, Massachusetts.

David Stone Wheeler succeeds Parsons. On June 19, 1909, Wheeler undertook his duties and with the co-operation of a committee appointed by the superintendent (see Chapter 7) carefully planned a comprehensive series of meetings for the one hundred and seventeen Boston teachers who had been designated as counselors. These meetings began early in the fall and included expositions of the educational opportunities in the various high schools and talks by a number of employment managers and others drawn from the industrial and commercial enterprises of greater Boston.

Boston in 1909. Massachusetts had but recently been having one of its periodical public discussions—this time on the advent of voca-

¹ See sources given in the Appendix. The reader must be on the lookout for errors: one manuscript submitted for our inspection contained five major mis-statements within the compass of three pages, and the pamphlet issued by the International Labour Office (see Chapter 5) is guilty of errors apparently based on nothing less than unrestrained imagination.



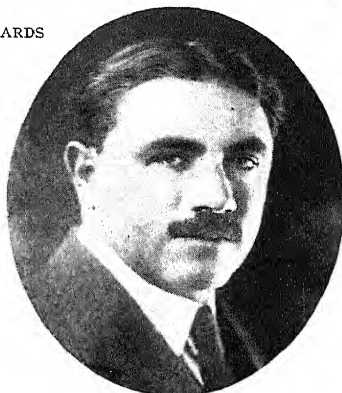
LYSANDER SALMON RICHARDS

A keen and original thinker, he planned in 1881 a science of "Vocophy," by which "vocophers" in every city would find out for their client the best possible occupation. See Chapter 4.



GEORGE A. MERRILL

In 1895 he set up a two-year plan of rotation among several industrial shops, supplemented by informal counseling, as a vestibule to trade preparation. See Chapter 4.



MEYER BLOOMFIELD

Director of Civic Service House, he recognized the importance of Frank Parsons' idea and plan, and gave him a place to work. Later he succeeded Wheeler and became the third Director of the Bureau. He gave the first university course in vocational guidance, publicized the cause

throughout the country, and with the assistance of Frederick J. Allen published pamphlets and books on the work. See Chapters 6 and 14.



DAVID STONE WHEELER

Progressive educator before the term was used, he succeeded Parsons as Director of the Vocation Bureau, and as-



RALPH ALBERTSON

Friend of Parsons, and Employment Manager of a Boston store, he conducted the first course for preparing counselors,

tional education. One of the most interesting cities of America, Boston is by tradition classical but pioneering, cultural but industrial, and conservative but humanitarian and progressive. Its many historic conflicts—abolition, religious reform and liberalism, experiments in education—had accustomed it to differences of opinion.

Vocational education came chiefly from Germany. In 1905 Governor William L. Douglas appointed a commission under the charge of Carroll D. Wright, former United States Commissioner of Labor, to study the needs of vocational education and the practices in other states and in foreign countries. This commission recommended that studies in the school be bent toward industrial preparation and that a second commission be appointed to establish industrial schools in Massachusetts. Professor Paul H. Hanus of Harvard University was appointed chairman of the new commission; Lincoln Filene was another member. These two men traveled about the state speaking in favor of the work and hearing suggestions and criticisms from educators, employers, and labor union officials. They organized a separate board for vocational education, but by 1909 the need for an amalgamation was apparent. Professor Hanus proposed that the commission be abolished and merged with the work of the State Board of Education, but an arrangement was finally made to have a general resignation and reorganization. Consequently a new State Board of Education was organized in 1909, and David Snedden was made Commissioner, with Charles A. Prosser as assistant in charge of industrial education, Rufus W. Stimson in charge of agricultural education, and Charles R. Allen as agent for trade training.

A glance at these dates will reveal that in this same period Hanus and Filene became active in the work of Parsons. It must be repeated, however, that there was little direct connection between the two movements, the chief reason perhaps being the German influence in vocational training, which seemed to make inappropriate any kind of guidance based on self-determination for the child.

There seems to be no evidence that Parsons had any active interest in the movement for vocational education; there is evidence that Superintendent Brooks of the Boston public schools was one of the first to see the need for a connecting influence between the two.

Naturally there was strong opposition to the work of vocational education. Albert E. Winship, Editor of the *Journal of Education*, was quoted in the *Boston Globe* on August 31, 1909, as strongly opposed to the organization of trade schools. "Boston is turning backward," was his way of protest, and "I sometimes wonder if

Bunker Hill and Faneuil Hall are not better adapted to the Mississippi Valley if the Kaiser is to camp on Boston Common." Professor Hugo Münsterberg, in the same newspaper (November 17, 1909), expressed himself as strongly opposed to trade schools. He stated that boys and girls should not be allowed to choose their own vocations at high-school age and, further, that the Vocation Bureau founded by Parsons should have at its head "a psychologist of worth." He repeated this last observation in an article in *McClure's Magazine*, February, 1910.

The Boston papers were full of the discussion on vocational education and guidance. Some general impressions may be gathered from Lincoln Filene's book of clippings, kindly placed at our disposal:

Snedden going up and down Massachusetts addressing citizens on industrial education . . . Rufus Stimson advocating his idea of home projects in agriculture, and thus originating the idea later known as the project method . . . James P. Monroe hammering away at the idea that we in America were "twenty-five years behind the times." . . . President Eliot stating that Germany began this work sixty years before . . . Strenuous debates on schools and colleges and their aims and methods . . . The argument to keep manufacturing in New England by training boys and girls . . . The money value of education, by Eli Weaver . . . Lectures by Paul H. Hanus . . . The Grand Rapids plan—occupational information through English classes.

The Boston 1915 Committee. A civic movement for the improvement of Boston, to culminate in an exposition in 1915, was started in 1906. (The outbreak of the First World War prevented the carrying out of the plans.) On May 3, 1909, Stratton D. Brooks, Superintendent of the Boston Public Schools, wrote to Edward A. Filene (brother of Lincoln Filene), Director of the Boston 1915 Committee, asking if this committee would organize a bureau for the assistance of boys and girls in selecting high schools.² Filene promptly replied to Brooks, calling attention to the Vocation Bureau founded by Parsons, which, however, was still without an active director. Filene stated that the trustees of the Vocation Bureau would be glad to submit a plan for active work with school children. This plan was drawn up and submitted, and on June 7, 1909, it was

² German influence had led to the organizing of specialized high schools in Boston—among them two trade schools, a school of practical arts, and a high school of commerce—and Dr. Brooks saw at once the difficult problem this situation presented to pupils in selecting the right school. It may be noted that as early as December 21, 1908, Lincoln Filene wrote to the School Committee suggesting visiting days as an aid in selecting a high school.

adopted by the school committee. It proposed the appointment of a committee of six masters and submasters as a "vocational direction committee," the appointment of a number of counselors in the schools, and the training of these counselors by meetings to be held under the auspices of the Vocation Bureau.

Beginnings in the schools. It was at this time that David Stone Wheeler undertook the work as director. He drew up extensive plans featuring counseling, lectures to graduating classes, and industrial investigations. It is interesting to note that there was practically no provision in the plan for modification of school work, except that Wheeler stated that notebooks might be kept by students and that these could contain compositions on occupational topics.

On the basis of these plans the Vocation Bureau was reorganized on June 19, 1909, and work began in co-operation with the schools. During Wheeler's directorship a number of meetings of the committee were held.

Bloomfield takes the directorship of the Bureau. No report reveals why the directorship was changed, in November or December, 1909, from Wheeler to Bloomfield, nor do we have the exact date. Typewritten reports give Mr. Wheeler's name as director as late as November 8, 1909, and the minutes of one of the October meetings of the trustees indicate a desire for modification of the activities of the bureau. At any rate, late in 1909 Bloomfield gave up his work as active director of Civic Service House (work that was thereupon taken over by Philip Davis) and plunged full time into the work of the Vocation Bureau.

Mr. Wheeler, shortly after leaving the Vocation Bureau, entered training for the Methodist ministry and had charge of several churches, particularly one at Gloucester, Massachusetts. After a number of years in the ministry he became a teacher again and joined the faculty of the Watertown, Massachusetts, high school.

The work of Frederick J. Allen. The development of the work, particularly in the Boston schools, indicated the need for printed material for the use of the school counselors as well as for the bureau. For this reason an assistant director was appointed—Frederick J. Allen.

Allen, a graduate of Dartmouth College, had taught mathematics and history at Boston University and mathematics at Simmons College. About the time when the Breadwinners' Institute was organized at the Civic Service House, Allen began a significant kind of work with young men in Boston, a work that led him into contact with

Civic Service House. He developed what he called at first the City History Club and later the Young Men's Civic Service Club of Boston. With very meager support Allen organized, maintained, and supervised scores of clubs for the study of government and the practice of parliamentary law and debating. In this way he made a remarkable contribution to the civic welfare of Boston between 1903 and the time of his death in 1927.

In June, 1910, Allen joined the Vocation Bureau as assistant director and investigator of occupations. He also participated in the counseling of individuals carried on at the bureau, in the preparation of manuscripts for publication, and in the work of preparing Boston teachers for their work in counseling.

Allen's first pamphlet was labeled *Bulletin No. 1, Vocations for Boston Boys, issued by the Vocation Bureau of Boston: The Machinist*. The outline of this pamphlet of ten pages is as follows: the trade—its divisions, dangers, conditions, and future; pay, positions, and opportunities; apprenticeship in the trade; the boy—qualities and training required; comments of people in the trade; comments from the state Board of Health; census report figures; bibliography; and schools giving courses fitting for this occupation.

Allen proved to be a remarkable investigator of occupations, and his experience proves that a trained observer need not necessarily have participated in the work of the occupation. The details of his work will appear below.

The work of the bureau under Bloomfield. Since our next chapter will deal with the work in the Boston schools, our present intent is to emphasize chiefly the bureau itself.

In 1910 there was issued a short bibliography of "books and periodicals in English and German dealing with vocational direction" (30 pages). In 1911 Bloomfield issued his first book, *The Vocational Guidance of Youth*. It is general in its treatment, dealing with the choice of a lifework and its difficulties, beginnings of vocational guidance work in the Boston schools, the task of a counselor, some cautions, and social and economic gains to be expected. The motto for the bureau selected by Bloomfield was "Find thyself," and the definition of vocational guidance was "organized common sense used to help each individual make the most of his abilities and opportunities."

In 1911 a short course of ten lectures on vocational guidance was given by Bloomfield in the Harvard Summer School. Information on this work is contained in Chapter 14.

In 1911 also Bloomfield was asked to serve as special commissioner in the War Department for the Bureau of Education in Puerto Rico, and in 1912 he was vocational adviser to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In that year also he turned aside to arbitrate a strike in the garment trades, a work which led to much effort in that direction later in his life.

In 1914 Bloomfield issued, through the United States Bureau of Education, *The School and the Start in Life*, a story of the beginnings of vocational direction in England, Scotland, and Germany.

The organization of the Employment Managers' Association. One of the most important events with which the Vocation Bureau was connected was the creation of a new profession—that of employment manager or personnel director. Allen, in his investigations of occupations, had early met the men in charge of hiring workers, and by 1912 found that a dozen or more establishments had well-defined officials called employment managers or employment supervisors. On the suggestion of persons we are unable to identify these men and others met for a discussion of their common problems, and in December, 1912, a constitution was adopted under the name Employment Managers' Association. Thus the first such organization was formed.³

Not only did these pioneer personnel workers organize an association of employment managers; they also stimulated the execution of a plan to prepare them for their work. Beginning with the fall of 1914 a series of lectures on "The Function of Employment in Management" was arranged at the Amos Tuck School of Administration and Finance of Dartmouth College, Bloomfield being one of the lecturers. The following year the director of the school, Harlow S. Person, offered an elective course, "The Employment Function in Management." The announcement of topics shows how closely this guidance-in-industry project paralleled the work of vocational guidance:

An intensive study of the problems of management relating to the

³ The date is wrongly given as 1911 in *The Vocational Guidance Movement*, by Brewer. *Personnel and Employment Problems*, issued by the American Academy of Political and Social Science, May 1916, apparently contains the first literature on employment management. On page 111 the organization of the Boston association is described.

This work should not be confused with that of scientific management. Frederick Winslow Taylor (1856-1915) began his work in scientific management in 1879. He and his associates in the Taylor system have accomplished important changes in American industry, but they did not interest themselves in the problems of employment management until after the influence of the vocational guidance movement.

employment and supervision of personnel, the control of working conditions, and the relations between employer and employee. The sources of supply of employees—public, trade, and commercial schools, vocation bureaus, employment agencies, etc.; classes of employees with reference to physical, mental, and temperamental qualifications for different kinds of work; classes of work with reference to their demands upon employees; methods of hiring; general supervision; training during employment; promotion and transfer; records; discharge; control of working conditions—safety, health, recreation; employees' co-operative associations; wage systems; *esprit* and good will; qualifications and functions of the employment manager; associations of employment managers.

Add dashes of psychology, unions, and collective bargaining and we have a completely modern course. The work was continued, with the title changed in 1919 to "Employment Management."

Other universities early undertook similar work, especially under the stimulus of the production of munitions and other goods for the war.

Other work of the Bureau. Meyer Bloomfield often told the writer that he realized the fact that he had little skill in the art of teaching; his writings also indicate his lack of connection with the school situation. Bloomfield did splendid work in spite of this handicap, but that it was a handicap no one who knew him could doubt. Repeatedly he spoke to conventions of teachers and school administrators about the need for vocational guidance and its social importance, but when asked for direct suggestions for the school he had few concrete proposals other than the organization of counseling. There was no suggestion for curriculum revision, nothing for changing manual training into exploratory and tryout courses, and no active connection between vocational education and vocational guidance. This is clearly shown in the second book published by Bloomfield, *Youth, School, and Vocation* (1915). There is considerable repetition of material used in former reports and in *Youth, School, and Vocation*. The sociological viewpoint is clearly set forth, yet little tangible material is outlined for the schools.

In spite of his lack of knowledge of the school, Bloomfield did good work in stirring up the school people themselves to improved work in vocational guidance. The 1910 conference in Boston, described in Chapter II, suggested many connections with school work; moreover, Bloomfield's teaching of teachers in Harvard, Columbia University, Colorado College, University of California, and Boston

University gave a start in new topics of thought to many teachers who later worked out adequate plans.

In 1912 an interesting magazine devoted one issue to vocational guidance. This was the *Boston Home and School News Letter: Vocational Guidance Number*. It was issued from No. 6 Beacon Street and the material was prepared by F. J. Allen, Bloomfield, and others. This may be considered as a forerunner of the *Vocational Guidance Bulletin*, whose origin is described in Chapter 13.

Meanwhile Allen was busy with the preparation of vocational pamphlets. The following fields were covered in rapid sequence, beginning with 1911: machinist, baker, confectioner, manufacturer, architect, landscape architect, grocer, department store, and banking. Allen also published three books: *The Law as a Vocation* (1913), *Business Employments* (1916), and *The Shoe Industry* (1916).⁴

The work of the Vocation Bureau in counseling and correspondence is summarized in Chapter 2 of Brewer's *The Vocational Guidance Movement* (1918). Gradually it was discovered that counseling can hardly be done by itself, since it is only one of a series of necessary activities. Nevertheless Bloomfield and Allen did much work of value for those who applied to them. Occasional reports of the Vocation Bureau, particularly those of 1913 and 1915, give a comprehensive account of the work.

Bloomfield leaves the work. With the entrance of the United States into the First World War, Bloomfield was invited to undertake work for the Emergency Fleet Corporation. He became chief for the industrial service department and served till after the end of the war. With the closing of the war work, Bloomfield opened an office as industrial consultant in New York City and was engaged for a number of years in a variety of activities. He organized a service of industrial reports which spread the idea of conciliation into many industrial establishments. Three more books bore his name: *Labor and Compensation*, *Management and Men*, and *Preventive Management*. He continued his work as arbitrator and undertook much work also as an attorney—he had been admitted to the bar in

⁴ Allen's method of investigation included two steps chiefly. First, concentrated and long-continued observation of the workman. Second, questions of foremen and managers. He did his work in this last-named book so well that several foremen and managers told him that he had revealed to them many things about their industry that they had never discovered themselves.

The pamphlet, *Vocational Guidance*, part of the 25th Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, 1910 (1911), contains the full text of some of the early pamphlets issued by the Vocation Bureau and other agencies.

1905. In 1922 Mr. Bloomfield was sent by President Harding to Russia to study industrial conditions. His interest in vocational guidance continued and in 1929 he was appointed adviser to students and Professor of Vocational Guidance at the College of the City of New York. He was also adviser at Hunter College. In 1938 he passed away.

Good foundations laid by Bloomfield. If the test of a man's work depends on a number of pertinent criteria, Bloomfield's work will stand these tests and make his name an important and necessary one in the history of vocational guidance. First, he organized and carried on effective work with tangible and favorable results. Second, he put in writing, for the use of other persons, his ideas in the field of vocational guidance. Third, he secured the support of good men to sponsor the work he was doing. Fourth, he used a dignified and effective publicity for the spread of vocational guidance. Fifth, he helped to teach others how to do the work.

What became of the Vocation Bureau of Boston? In the fall of 1917, when Bloomfield entered upon his war work, the trustees of the Vocation Bureau of Boston made over the bureau, together with the services of Frederick J. Allen, to the Division of Education of Harvard University. The name of the bureau was now changed to the Bureau of Vocational Guidance, and Roy W. Kelly, then Principal of the High School at Fall River, was made director.⁵

The bureau undertook a variety of war work. In the first place, courses were instituted for the training of employment managers, and some of the recipients of this course did notable work in stores and factories during the war. Second, foreman training was organized, so that these officers could develop morale and efficiency among their workers. A third activity was devoted to the vocational education of workers in factories. A fourth was related to rehabilitation and training of the handicapped; in co-operation with the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men a number of early bulletins were issued for the guidance of workers with handicaps—Burt J. Morris wrote most of these. A fifth activity was the Americanization work carried on by Charles H. Paull. Paull developed, with the co-operation of the Associated Industries of Massachusetts, a group of booklets describing and picturing common problems and processes in everyday work—for example, in the work of a paper-mill worker and employee in a tannery. Safety information was printed in red ink.

⁵ Kelly had studied under Professor Paul H. Hanus, and in 1918 published his *Hiring the Worker*.

Simultaneously with all these special efforts courses in vocational guidance were carried on, and Allen and Kelly published a book on the shipbuilding industry, with particular reference to the war work.

In 1919 Dr. Kelly resigned to enter personnel work in California.⁶ John M. Brewer was made director. He also had studied under Professor Hanus and had published in 1918 *The Vocational Guidance Movement*. He had already taught one year at Harvard (1916-17), giving courses in vocational guidance and vocational education, and had spent the two war years in the Los Angeles Normal School, later the University of California at Los Angeles. Under his directorship the bureau emphasized work with the schools, and a series of courses for the preparation of counselors was organized.

The work at Harvard has resulted in nine books and many pamphlets by faculty and staff, eight published doctors' theses (plus twelve unpublished) and eight other books and several pamphlets by students, besides numerous magazine articles. *The Vocational Guidance Magazine* was edited at Harvard, first by Frederick J. Allen (1922-27) and later by Fred C. Smith (1927-33).

The work of the Bureau of Vocational Guidance has been greatly curtailed in recent years, but the same functions were gradually assumed elsewhere, first by the National Occupational Conference (1933-39) and later by the Office of Education at Washington and by the National Vocational Guidance Association.

⁶First with Roos Brothers in San Francisco, then with the Southern Pacific, and later in private practice. More recently he has served as personnel manager for the Home Owners' Loan Corporation at Washington, and since 1938 as personnel director for Lever Brothers, with headquarters in Cambridge.

The School System and Other Organizations in Boston

THE concern of Superintendent Brooks in respect to the pupil's problem in the choice of a high school has been pictured in the preceding chapter. Faced with a multiple choice, an almost irrevocable decision, and equipped only with a traditional elementary-school experience, the pupil was indeed in need of help. No comprehensive high schools existed in Boston except in outlying districts; thus specialization and finality of choice—an indefensible situation—was the rule under which children pursued their secondary education.

Work begins in the schools. On February 8, 1909, the Board of Superintendents formulated a statement indicating that definite help should be given pupils in choosing a high-school curriculum. We have already seen how the School Committee in May requested the Boston 1915 Committee for help in this matter. The Vocation Bureau responded to this request by offering to appoint a full-time director to help with the work, to hold conferences, to prepare counselors, to conduct visits to stores and factories, to give lectures for graduating classes, and to keep a record of the work accomplished.

The School Committee accepted this plan and appointed a Committee on Vocational Direction, sometimes also called the Committee on Vocational Advice. This included George A. Tyzzer, Louis P. Nash, Frederick W. Swan, Edgar L. Raub, Caspar Isham, and Walter J. Phelan. Most of these men were masters (principals) of schools and were expected to give general supervision to the work. David Stone Wheeler, the director of the Vocation Bureau at that time, acted as clerk for this committee. As a result of the efforts of the committee one hundred and seventeen counselors were appointed, one for each elementary and secondary school in Boston. However, it was not possible to allow any time or to offer any additional compensation for this work. Bloomfield carried on the work beginning with the winter of 1909-10.

First accomplishments. The superintendent's report, issued in the summer of 1910, gives a comprehensive statement of the year's work as set forth by the committee. There had been a general interest among teachers, lectures to thirty graduating classes, some beginnings in placement and follow-up, the formulation of a cumulative

record card, meetings of headmasters and counselors to explain the specialized high schools, and three mass meetings of teachers.

The aims of the work were set forth as follows: (1) thoughtful consideration of the life-career motive on the part of parents, pupils, and teachers; (2) placement; and (3) keeping in touch with those who leave school by graduation or otherwise.

The committee asked for money to devise a card system for following up graduates, to print a booklet on the specialized high school, and to pay speakers, but this was not granted. The committee thanked the Vocation Bureau for its assistance, particularly in arranging meetings. The report also spoke of the great need for vocational enlightenment and information.

In the Trade School for Girls, Mary A. Gilson (later engaged in personnel work in Cleveland and, beginning with 1931, Assistant Professor of Economics at the University of Chicago) was appointed counselor. Laura F. Wentworth began work in the High School of Practical Arts in 1911.

Plans developed further. On November 22, 1910, Mr. Nash, who had been secretary of the above-named committee, was assigned on half time to investigate and report plans for the better establishment of vocational guidance. His report, in the superintendent's annual report for 1911, proposes counseling, a course of study on occupations, placement, and follow-up. It is significant that this proposal for a course of study upon vocations is one of the first attempts to place such a class as a regular study in the young person's curriculum. He states:

A course of study upon vocations should be offered in the high schools, and be required of all pupils whose plans are not decided. A number of typical occupations should be carefully studied, by means of books, lectures by experts in the several subjects, visits to establishments, and in all other ways practicable . . . A pupil who has thus made careful study of certain typical occupations will have acquired a method of studying any occupation with relation to his own future.¹

In 1911 Nash recommended the organization of a department of vocational guidance, but no action was taken.

From time to time further reports of progress were made. Thus in Bloomfield's *Readings in Vocational Guidance* (pages 117-128)

¹ William A. Wheatley, however, had already begun his work with a class in occupations (see Chapter 10). Apparently neither Bloomfield nor Allen envisioned such a class for the school curriculum, though Bloomfield favored what he called "The Life Career Club" for young people in settlements.

briefs of papers cover such topics as guidance for elementary-school girls and boys and a plan for instruction in vocational information (by Miss Wentworth). These papers were first given in 1912, before the Boston Masters' Association. One of the speakers, William T. Miller, had also written for the *Atlantic Monthly* (November, 1909) an article "Vocation Teaching," in which, probably for the first time, the vestibule idea is suggested: a special period for the entering pupils before regular enrollment.

Conferences planned by the Vocation Bureau. During all this time the Vocation Bureau held conferences for the one hundred and seventeen counselors. Pamphlets and books by Allen were used, as well as a number of pamphlets for girls which will be mentioned below. The meetings during 1910-11 included such topics as the principles of vocational guidance, electrical engineering, shoe industry, machine industry, department store sources and methods of vocational guidance, trades, telephone industry, stenography, architecture, and the use of statistics. In 1911-12 the following topics were included, among others: agriculture, textile work, building trades, millinery, practical nursing, and social problems of wage earners. In 1912-13 the following topics were used: shoe and leather industries, lunchroom and restaurant work, department stores, the metal trades, business, and the candy industry.

Most of these talks were contributed by public-spirited men and women, with Allen of the Vocation Bureau of Boston in charge of the arrangements.

The Placement Bureau. Now came a new and important influence. Under private auspices, by persons not connected with the Vocation Bureau, a placement bureau was organized in 1912.² The school system co-operated with this civic movement by allowing the use of school buildings for the work.

We quote from the 1912 report of Helen W. Rogers, who with Margaret Thatcher and others was the organizer of the movement:

The Placement Bureau maintained by the Committee on Education and Employment of the Children's Welfare League of Roxbury [part of Boston] in co-operation with the Boston School Committee and the Women's Municipal League [also the Girls' Trade Education League,

² It seems to be a well-established fact that these good people were somewhat critical of the work of Bloomfield, holding that he neglected placement. Many persons connected more or less loosely with the vocational guidance movement have placed much emphasis on placement as the central, culminating factor. "After all," said one critic to the writer, "isn't the most important thing you can do for a child to get him a job?"

founded by Edith M. Howes and others] during the months of June, July and August, has been a modest attempt to bridge for a limited number of children in a selected district of the city the gap between the school room and the workshop. As only 145 children, 97 employers and 64 placements in 43 establishments were registered during this time, the experiment is indeed modest as to numbers. . . .

The Bureau had its origin, as above indicated, in local conditions. While the Children's Welfare League was being organized by the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (January, 1912), the large amount of gang life in Roxbury was called to its attention—a life at once deteriorating to the boys and annoyingly wasteful to the community. As one remedy of a positive nature, employment immediately on leaving school was suggested. Teachers, school visitors and other social workers were helping individual cases, but it was believed that with organized effort, a still larger number of children could be reached. Accordingly this need, with this suggestion, was presented to the chairman of the Committee on Education and Employment, Caspar Isham, Master of the Hyde School (Roxbury), who, as a member of the special advisory committee on vocational guidance appointed by the School Committee, was already deeply interested in the subject. On his recommendation, the committee unanimously voted, at its first meeting, March 11, to establish some form of local labor exchange through which teachers, pupils and employers might find mutual help. Before the plans were fully matured and while the committee was confronting the problem of expense, its proposed plan came to the knowledge of Mary P. Follett, Chairman of the Women's Municipal League's Committee on the Extended Use of School Buildings. Miss Follett's committee offered to supply two placement workers for an eleven weeks' experiment on condition that the Children's Welfare League assume the responsibility of supervision, clerical assistance and necessary equipment . . .

The School Committee granted the League permission (April 29) to have the names of the June graduates from the Dudley, Dillaway, Dearborn, Hyde and Sherwin Schools, and to use for office purposes from June 25 to July 31 (later extended to September 11 and, later still, to October 16), quarters in either the Dudley or the Dearborn school. To him [assistant superintendent] the committee was also indebted for the choice of a member of the teaching force who, as placement secretary, contributed much to the success of the work. On May 9, in the juvenile session room of the Roxbury Municipal Court, there were called into conference the Masters and vocational counselors from these five selected schools, together with the representatives of the Women's Municipal League, Juvenile Court, the Vocation Bureau, the Girls' Trade Education League, the Women's Educational and Industrial Union and

a number of others interested. The plan of the work as outlined by the chairman covered the following steps:

- (1) A study of the school records in order to determine the physical, mental and moral characteristics of the children registered;
- (2) A knowledge of the home—its hereditary tendencies and its present influences;
- (3) The discovery and investigation of industrial opportunities;
- (4) A careful placement of the child in the work for which he seems best fitted;
- (5) Close follow-up work after placement.

Mrs. Rogers next tells of procedures in registration and in interviewing employers. Lectures and excursions were also provided for children about to leave school.

After the first year's work the following conclusions were drawn by the director:

1. The Placement Bureau fills a recognized social gap in the community, a gap recognized by parents, teachers, social workers, and employers.
2. A placement bureau should be inseparable from the school system.
3. Organized co-operation with the Board of Health, the Chamber of Commerce, and social service agencies is also required for the best results.
4. The Placement Bureau unit, rightly organized and federated throughout the city, will slowly but ultimately tend to better the working conditions for adolescent children in Boston.

This report was issued by the Women's Municipal League of Boston. It recommended an enlarged bureau for Roxbury and a central bureau for the city at large. Altogether it is an impressive report by people who meant to succeed in the good work.

Vocational Information Department. On January 27, 1913, the School Committee, stimulated no doubt by Nash's report and the placement enterprise, established, under the direction of Assistant Superintendent Maurice P. White, a Vocational Information Department to collect vocational information and distribute it to teachers, pupils, and parents. This department took the place of the former Committee on Vocational Direction. Laura F. Wentworth was placed in charge of this department on a half-time basis.

This active committee within the school system seemed to mark the beginning of the public schools' taking over the work of voca-

tional guidance directly—the Vocation Bureau of Boston no longer directed the work though it continued to help.

Under the volunteer plan the work of the counselors had not progressed as well as might be hoped, and one of Miss Wentworth's first acts was to secure the reappointment of counselors and to ask them to hold regularly announced office hours for counseling and to divide the work as to drop-outs and graduates.³ A new superintendent of schools, Frank P. Dyer, had taken office in 1912, Brooks having been chosen President of the University of Oklahoma. Dyer's report of June 30, 1913, tells of meetings of counselors arranged by the Vocation Bureau, the use of pamphlets for boys and girls, exhibits in schools, books on vocations, etc. Illustrative material was sent to counselors by the Vocational Information Department; for example, a plan for a course in vocational information one half hour per week, open to all graduating classes from the eighth grade and all others thirteen years old or over. This course, proposed in the spring of 1913, was to cover characteristics important for success, talks on vocations, talks on schools preparing for various colleges, visits to industries and schools, readings on occupations and schools, and readings from biographies; discussions also were proposed on obtaining employment certificates, securing a position, health and dangers in work, and the use of spare time.

The assistance of other organizations. Here let us digress to describe the work of certain civic associations. We quote from an unpublished manuscript by Bertha Shepard of the Vocational Guidance Department, Boston Public Schools:

Two committees of The Women's Municipal League, the Committee on Opportunities for Vocational Training and the Committee on Extended Use of School Buildings, were actively engaged in carrying on projects which materially aided guidance. The first committee, beginning its work in January, 1909, prepared and published charts showing opportunities for vocational training in Boston. This information was later enlarged and printed in book form under the title *Opportunities for Vocational Training in Boston*.

³ Miss Wentworth has served in vocational guidance full time and continuously from 1911. She undertook work as a counselor in the High School of Practical Arts in March, 1911, took Bloomfield's first course at Harvard University that summer and continued in later courses, visited New York City in 1911, under the auspices of the Vocation Bureau, to study work certificate rules, and in the summer of 1912 worked under Mrs. Rogers of the Placement Bureau at the Dudley School, Roxbury. After the Vocational Guidance Department was organized (see below), she returned full time to her work at the High School of Practical Arts.

These charts were reproduced in the 25th Annual Report of the United States Department of Labor (1910).

Mary P. Follett, reporting on September 12, 1912, explained how the committee for the extended use of school buildings had planned to begin placement work at the evening center for East Boston, but had heard of the Roxbury plan and then joined in that effort. The Girls' Trade Education League and the Women's Municipal League each pledged three thousand dollars for investigating opportunities, and students in education from Radcliffe and Harvard assisted in this work.

The Girls' Trade Education League was instrumental in establishing the Trade School for Girls in Boston. Its chief contribution was the issuance of fourteen small pamphlets very like the pamphlets for boys issued by the Vocation Bureau. These were dated 1912 and labeled *Vocations for Boston Girls*, issued by the Vocations Office for Girls, No. 6 Beacon Street, and included the following: telephone operating, bookbinding, stenography and typewriting, nursery maid, dressmaking, millinery, straw hat making, manicuring and hairdressing, nursing, salesmanship, clothing machine operating, paper box making, confectionery manufacturing, and knit goods manufacture.

Women's Educational and Industrial Union. Parsons had had an office in Boston at the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, an institution founded in 1877. A section in the articles of incorporation (1880) reads:

It shall be their duty to devise and adopt such industrial methods as shall be a true help to women, whereby their individual talents may be unfolded to profitable issues, either in the domain of art, science, literature, trade, manufacture, invention, home avocation, or whatever else offers to insure this end.

An employment department was early established, under the direction of Laura Gill. Beginning in 1909, contacts with women's colleges were started and many college seniors were registered in the placement office. The work was confined to higher positions for women, domestic service, and aid to the handicapped. Bulletins were provided on probation work, advertising, home and school visiting, publishing-house work, poultry raising, proofreading, real estate, industrial chemistry, bacteriological work, interior decoration, medical social service, organized charity, social service for children, and settlement work. Early in 1910 a series called *Vocations for the Trained Woman* was started. Its appointment bureau was reorganized in

January, 1910, and in September, 1911, Florence F. Jackson joined the work. She did much traveling to hold conferences and give counsel at schools and colleges. This work resulted in the organization of other college bureaus all over the country. The Girls' Trade Education League had offices at the Union and issued its pamphlets there. In June, 1914, the Union had a training course for counselors, and in 1920 Elizabeth Kemper Adams of the Union issued her book, *Women Professional Workers*.

Prince School of Store Service. Lucinda Prince first began her work in the Filene store, and early undertook the training of sales-girls. Assisted by Helen Norton, she at once secured the co-operation of department store officials and drew students from all over the country and from abroad—usually college graduates, who later undertook work in three fields: educational work in stores, personnel work in stores, and the teaching of salesmanship in schools. The Prince School was at one time associated with the Graduate School of Education, Harvard University and later became a department of Simmons College.

The Vocational Information Department and the Placement Bureau are combined. For two years the school placement work described above continued, with an extensive record of good accomplished. Then all concerned seemed to arrive at the conclusion that it should be taken over fully by the schools. Thus Mrs. Rogers could state in her 1914 Report of the Boston Placement Bureau:

If during the next six months the Placement Bureau can perfect its machinery, it should be able to demonstrate to the Boston School Committee not only the possibility but the desirability of incorporating the Bureau under the public school system. With "placement" centralized under one head together with the Departments of Vocational Guidance and Evening and Continuation Schools, Boston will have a comprehensive scheme of vocational education which will be second to none in the nation.

Meanwhile the information service described above continued for a year and a half, and issued a report in 1913, printed with that of the superintendent. On Sept. 8, 1914, Alfred R. Winter became "director of the work of vocational counselors," in addition to his services as Head of Division, Continuation Schools.

Before many weeks Winter was forced by ill health to give up the work, and on November 16, 1914, Susan J. Ginn, a teacher who had served in the summers of 1913 and 1914 with the placement bureau

in Roxbury, was released during the next school year without pay to take charge of the Placement Bureau. During this period she served also as director of the work of vocational counseling and head of the continuation school. And on the following April 5 (1915) the Department of Vocational Guidance was voted and Miss Ginn was appointed Acting Director. This department then took over the placement work started under private auspices, besides continuing the work of the school counselors.

That December the School Committee adopted standards for counselors, requiring adequate study of education plus experience in a vocational school or in special vocational service as approved by the Board of Superintendents. Miss Ginn became Director, October 2, 1916.⁴

The Department of Vocational Guidance. This department is a combination of central and outside work; each of the ten or twelve members of the staff has work in some one of the high schools. The Boston work has been extended largely on an invitation basis, with masters deciding whether or not they shall use the services of the central bureau. Consequently some high schools neglect vocational guidance, and some are so highly specialized that they have their own staff members who are not directly associated with the central office.

The department has done notable work, particularly in its follow-up studies. Since 1922 it has issued from time to time an important pamphlet, *Guide to a Choice of a Secondary School*. The formula of work for the department is expressed as "guidance, placement, and follow-up," the first including both educational and vocational guidance.

Later work in Boston schools. The development of educational and vocational guidance in Boston schools has been continuous and effective. The conferences with elementary-school counselors were continued until the system was reorganized with intermediate (junior high) schools, and the department thereupon assisted in organizing educational guidance in the intermediate grades. The work at the central office has been extended and includes counseling, record keeping, collection of vocational information, placement, and follow-

⁴ Miss Ginn was teacher and master's assistant in the Hyde School of Boston, and since 1907 had actively interested herself in the educational guidance and future careers for her pupils. In 1900 she had worked with Joseph Lee in the movement for school gardens. She was especially concerned with children who dropped out without completing the higher grades of the elementary school. After becoming assistant master she became interested in placement work and co-operated with the Placement Bureau in Roxbury, working summers with that organization.

up reports on recent graduates. All of the high schools are served by at least one counselor attached to the department. Four have counselors assigned on full time.

For a time the Boston department was supported through a state law, which furnished a regular amount based on a percentage of the city tax levy. Miss Ginn has organized an advisory committee of influential citizens. The staff members, including the Director, have conducted a number of courses for teachers and counselors and have given many lectures on the work of the department.

Boston received the great stimulus of the 1910 conference, which we shall describe in Chapter 11, and the city was fortunate in achieving unified plans from the beginning. New York and perhaps other cities began work in vocational guidance nearly as soon as, if not earlier than, Boston; but in New York there was great delay due to decentralization and the apparent impossibility of agreeing on a comprehensive plan. Boston possessed a notable advantage in the beginnings it was able to make during the first decade after Parsons.

Chapter VIII

Some Beginnings of City-wide Organization in American Communities

THE early organization of vocational guidance presents a number of different patterns. In some places the work was confined to the high school or the continuation school, the standard procedure being to designate one of the teachers as vocational counselor. On the other hand the central office was the point of beginning for a few cities, with supervision—and sometimes pressure—applied to secondary schools. Sometimes this central office was instituted by social agencies and was disconnected from the school system. Often, however, and especially of late years, the educational agency took the initiative.

Work in high schools. To collect complete information on guidance work in high schools before 1920 would be an impossible task. Publicity concerning the Vocation Bureau of Boston spread over the country, with consequent appointment of counselors. It is possible that there were more counselors in 1915 than in 1942. In most cases nothing but counseling was done, by teachers unprepared for the work and many times in addition to a full program of classroom work.

We present in the Appendix a mere list of schools known through magazine articles or otherwise, with the two qualifications that there is no evidence that those written up were superior and that those mentioned represent perhaps not more than 5 per cent of the early effort.

Reports of educational and vocational guidance in high schools were effective in inducing communities to undertake the work and to co-ordinate such effort in city departments. We now turn to the beginnings of city-wide administration.

Unreliability of the records. The record of attempts to organize city plans of vocational guidance is a confusing one. Within the first decade following Parsons ten cities achieved departments administered by their public schools, and foundations were laid in many more. But only half of these confined the name of the department to vocational guidance; the other five associated it with other activities more or less closely related. Similar variety persists today.

Difficulty in writing the record, moreover, grows also out of the circumstances that (1) many cities made notable beginnings in in-

dividual high schools, to be followed by loss of interest due to change of personnel; (2) others actually organized departments, shortly abandoned; (3) several cities organized and reorganized—named departments and renamed them—combined them with this and that other departments and recombined them—in a way that could be unraveled only by a study of the minutes of meetings of boards of education; and (4) a few cities developed fairly good work, centrally integrated only through the supervision of a superintendent of schools or his assistant, without any official department at all.¹

These experiences are very different from that of vocational education; indeed, manual training, kindergartens, better methods of supervision, and many other educational reforms have fared far better as to adequacy and permanency than has the movement for vocational guidance.

Reasons for the unsatisfactory nature of early experiments. What reasons can be adduced for the up-and-down record of the first organization of guidance? Why should a new movement, and a good movement, develop so little permanency in so many of the places which it affected? Perhaps a number of characteristics in early experimentation explain these fluctuations; others are to be explained by the nature of vocational guidance itself.

In the first place there was, of course, the steady opposition of the conservatives in education, who began their barrage of criticism when the traditional curriculum was in any way endangered. Moreover vocational guidance was grossly "oversold" by its early advocates and enthusiastic friends. In some cases social workers sponsored the work and offered convincing arguments from the economic and social standpoints; then, when school people asked these enthusiasts for the specifications for a practical plan, effective proposals were not forthcoming.

In many cities the school people were completely unready for the

¹What is a city department? Officially it should be managed and supported by the board of education through the superintendent of schools; it should not be a bureau that is supported by another agency. Moreover for our present purposes it should be consciously (though not necessarily exclusively) devoted to the work of vocational guidance in all the educational area, not merely in the high school. (In two cities the work was bravely started but soon was relegated to the continuation school; this cannot count as a city department.) As to administration, a city department should ordinarily be responsible to the superintendent of schools or to an assistant superintendent. If the work in vocational guidance is a subdepartment it should not be more than once removed from access to an assistant superintendent.

work. In one western city a newly appointed director sent out elaborate record cards to all the teachers, asking them to fill these blanks out for all their homeroom pupils. No explanation had been made in advance of this request, and wastebaskets received the blanks. Counselors themselves were not prepared. As late as 1927 Professor Harry D. Kitson felt it necessary to express the following caution:

Vocational guidance is not a job for amateurs, to be assigned to a person because he or she has a warm heart. It should not be regarded as an adjunct to the teaching of English or mathematics. It is not a side issue of the work of dean of men or women. It is not a pastime to be indulged in during odd moments by a school principal, vice-principal, placement officer, registrar, or attendance officer. Vocational guidance is a distinct profession, just as independent as the work of the physician, the lawyer, the nurse, or any other highly specialized worker.

This statement points out a danger that exists in every movement and is worth reinforcing at the present writing. Agitation of social and civic organizations and preachments of publicists can accomplish little unless the right means and methods are at hand for carrying out the plan.

Incidentally the lesson involved in this difficulty is obvious for the movement now going forward for other forms of guidance than the vocational. If guidance in general is organized without adequate preparation of teachers and counselors it will likewise have its failures—illustrative of the truism that all good movements have been injured more by their friends than by their enemies.

Another common reason for abandoned plans was because the vocational counselor had nothing but an office and his mental equipment behind him. Vocational training, on the other hand, had back of it an investment of thousands of dollars in machines and equipment and could not so easily be "folded up." It was simple enough in times of financial stress, or for other reasons, to assign a vocational counselor back to a "more important" teaching or administrative position.

A correlated reason for failure lies in the fact that vocational guidance is only now in process of being discovered. We are finding that a complete plan involves the well-knit organization of many kinds of functions requiring a comprehensive personnel. If such a well-rounded program could have been organized in the early years of the movement it might have stood a better chance of surviving. Vocational guidance is in its nature diverse and comprehensive. Em-

phasis was placed upon various single items in various cities, and confusion resulted when comparisons were made from city to city. Early workers, moreover, except people like Wheatley, Davis, Gruenberg, and Rodman, saw little if any connection between vocational guidance and the curriculum. An integration of vocational guidance with curriculum studies, such as exploratory work and classes in occupations, obviously gives it a firmer foundation.

How did the work begin? Many agencies in American cities started the ball rolling for vocational guidance. In Cincinnati, Chicago, and New York, as indeed in Boston also, women's civic organizations initiated the demand for the work and made preliminary experiments. A combination of educational and social agencies helped in Philadelphia; philanthropists of Atlanta and Seattle made beginnings possible; Y.M.C.A. activities, junior chambers of commerce, and sometimes city officials were active in other places.

This chapter can give only samples of the many plans initiated in the early years. There are a host of unknown good workers whose names are no longer recorded, at least in the memory of those now active. Time after time programs were initiated in separate high schools by pioneering individuals, but such work too often did not come to fruition in a centralized plan for the city involved.

We do not propose to give detailed descriptions of early plans, since they can be found conveniently in the document first referred to in the sources (see Appendix). This government report gives detailed statements regarding Boston, New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, Seattle, Rochester, Atlanta, Providence, and Oakland. The Commissioner of Labor's Report also describes the work in New York and Boston, with much illustrative material from the early pamphlets of the Vocation Bureau. Ryan's pamphlet tells what was being done at the end of the first decade.

Beginnings in New York City. We have already described the work of Boston, giving it a separate chapter because of its intimate connection with the Vocation Bureau. New York City was active in a number of movements even before the time of Parsons, particularly in placement. Eli W. Weaver, a teacher in the Boys' High School in Brooklyn, began as early as 1906 placing city boys at farm work for the summer vacation. He organized this work extensively, securing a large committee to assist him.

In the Report of the High School Teachers' Association of New York City, dated 1907-08, this work is described and the statement

is made that the Students' Aid Committee of this Association (page 54) "plans to collect and make available information on occupations for qualified individuals." Weaver was an indefatigable organizer. In his booklet of thirty pages, *Choosing a Career*, "fifth edition" (probably 1913), he mentions that the Vocational Guidance Association of Brooklyn will furnish the book; this association was perhaps the first organization of those interested in vocational guidance. We have been unable to obtain the first edition of this booklet, which Weaver said was published in 1906. In 1908 or 1909 the High School Employment Committee published a four-page statement of its work, and in 1910 a pamphlet was issued by the Students' Aid Committee, *Directing Young People in the Choice of a Vocation*. During the same year Weaver issued a pamphlet sponsored by publicists, *New York Employers and the Public Schools; A Successful Movement to Bring them together*. The fact is noted that Superintendent Maxwell in his 1910 report recommends the organization of a vocation bureau. In 1912 the so-called Central Committee of Vocational Guidance, Henrietta Rodman, Chairman, and Benjamin C. Gruenberg, Secretary, published a thirty-two-page pamphlet, *Some Aspects of Vocational Guidance*. An article in *School* during 1909 describes the work of placement by the Students' Aid Committee.

During all this time an attempt was being made to effect a central organization. We quote from an unpublished pamphlet by Frederick J. Allen:

In 1910 teachers and others who were interested in vocational guidance in New York met in the office of the Principal of the DeWitt Clinton High School, in many consecutive sessions, in an effort to establish vocational guidance in the city under a single and responsible organization. The city was so large, however, and its various sections had such diverse interests and needs that a single organization could not be made. Separate organizations, however, were established in various settlements and later in some of the public schools. The New York City Number of *The Vocational Guidance Magazine* of February, 1924, contains an account of this effort for a central organization and of the extension of the work in the city in 1924.

It is no secret that vigorous disagreement occurred in New York, not only on account of the size of the city but on account of radically different conceptions of what vocational guidance is. Weaver continued to emphasize placement, while others were concerned with collecting occupational information and actually preventing children

from going to work too soon. Weaver was much interested in church and Sunday-school work and actually devised a plan for churches to give guidance. But students of the sciences discounted Weaver's approach, stating that his concept of guidance was that of the personal success type. Into this disagreement entered Alice Prescott Barrows, who in 1912 reported on a vocational guidance survey conducted by the Public Education Association and reprinted from the fourteenth annual report of the Superintendent of Schools:

A system of vocational guidance which would mean finding jobs for children under sixteen would be not only futile but dangerously near exploitation, however well meant the intention might be. The facts showed, broadly speaking, that there are no jobs for children under sixteen which they ought to take. . . . What the children want is vocational training. The kernel of truth in this popular movement for vocational guidance is the need of vocational training for children. Vocational guidance should mean guidance for training, not guidance for jobs. Hence, under present conditions the interests of public school children can best be served, not by the establishment of a vocation bureau, but by the development of vocational training.

None of these good people saw vocational guidance as a comprehensive plan involving tryout experiences, occupational information, counseling, choice, placement, readjustment, social viewpoint, etc., and consequently no agreement as to a centralized system could be worked out. Meanwhile the Brooklyn Public Library published its sixty-four-page bibliography, *Choosing an Occupation* (1913), and experimentation in separate high schools continued. Work in New York City, like that in a few other places, actually antedated the work of Parsons in its earliest beginnings, but did not come to the fruition of an actual city-wide plan until after many other cities had successfully inaugurated the work.

Important efforts in school systems during the first decade. By the end of 1910 no city had officially organized a plan, the tryout idea as such was unknown, except perhaps in Merrill's plan (see Chapter 4), individual conferences were informal and without effective tools, and no classroom work was included except by Davis and Wheatley (see Chapter 10). Placement was common but rarely thought to have any relationship to guidance, though Weaver was quick to see the connection. During this first decade, it seems safe to say, the characteristic pattern of effort was the counseling scheme described by Parsons in his *Choosing a Vocation* and practiced in his four Boston offices.

1911² sees four other cities begin activities. No actual departments of vocational guidance were organized in 1911, but some efforts were inaugurated. In Cincinnati the Schmidlapp Bureau supplied help to an organization known as the Bureau for the Investigation of Working Children. A state child labor law had just been enacted, and E. N. Clopper of the National Child Labor Committee and M. Edith Campbell (now Director of the Vocation Bureau) of the Schmidlapp Bureau were the persons responsible for the new work. Helen Thompson Woolley became the director of the new bureau and began a long-term study which resulted in several books, and a final report was issued as *An Experimental Study of Children* (1926). This research led directly to the authorization of the Vocation Bureau in 1914. In 1911 also the High School Teachers' Association of Cincinnati appointed subcommittees in each secondary school and provided literature on vocations for the school libraries. Doubtless many other cities began similar work about this time.

In Chicago a voluntary work was begun through a joint committee representing the Chicago School of Philanthropy and a number of women's organizations.

Pittsburgh maintained for three months of that year a voluntary vocation bureau financed by the Educational Fund Commission; its work was confined to counseling those individuals who came to it. It was planned and understood that this work would be taken over by the school system. In Los Angeles a committee appointed by the High School Teachers' Association studied school courses, study habits of pupils, and the gap between the elementary and high schools; the committee interested itself chiefly in educational guidance, with a minor concern with the dropouts and their vocational adjustment.

1912—A school department organized. To Grand Rapids, then a city of about one hundred thousand, must go the honor of the first city-wide organization within the school system, though it was not a permanent one. Having experimented in guidance before the time of Parsons' activity (see Chapters 4 and 10) through the agency of English composition, Jesse B. Davis, the principal of the high school, was given the additional appointment of Director of Vocational Guidance. The effort has not continued, however, though Davis car-

² Our reasons for using the calendar year rather than the school year are two: (1) Records seldom state the month when action was taken. (2) Decisions reached between January and June are seldom carried into effect till the following September.

ried on until 1920, when he went to a position in Connecticut. His plan is described in his *Vocational and Moral Guidance*, which was published in 1914.

In this year active promotion was undertaken in Philadelphia by the Public Education Association, of which James S. Hiatt was secretary; Hiatt published two important and effective pamphlets, *The Child, the School, and the Job* and *An Introduction to Vocational Guidance*. Buffalo too began to stir and had Weaver of New York investigate the Buffalo opportunities; several studies were published. In Kansas City, Kansas, I. B. Morgan carried on guidance extensively while director of the continuation school. The Co-operative Employment Bureau of Cleveland began a series of pamphlets, *Vocations for Cleveland Girls*.

1913—Still no permanent organization. The next year saw much activity, without any actual permanent organization in school systems. Philadelphia, however, began this year a Department of Vocational Education and Guidance, which seemingly put little emphasis on guidance. The Public Education Association, of which Hiatt was secretary, was responsible for the 1913 effort, aided by the White-Williams Foundation. Not till 1915 did permanent work begin.

In Seattle Anna Y. Reed began, in 1913, a voluntary effort closely connected with the schools, her title being Director of Guidance and Placement. She was given school quarters the following year, and her work continued till 1917, when the publicly supported department was organized. While engaged in this work Mrs. Reed published *Seattle Children in School and Industry* and *Newsboy Service*. Her *Junior Wage Earners* appeared in 1920.

Pittsburgh, too, had a voluntary department organized in 1913; it was under the direction of O. W. Burroughs till 1916, when it was absorbed by the continuation school under the charge of Anthony Goldberger. Chicago's volunteer work, already two years old, was given school quarters by the Board of Education, which also participated in its supervision. In Dayton the Co-operative High School began guidance under Claire G. Sharkey.

1914—Cincinnati, Lincoln, Minneapolis, and Oakland organize the first permanent departments. The work described above grew in 1914 to the Vocation Bureau in Cincinnati, under the directorship of Dr. Woolley. The vote by the Board of Education in June, 1914, authorized the bureau, though shortage of funds delayed its actual beginning till January, 1915. Provision was soon made for a

rather comprehensive program, including occupational information, practical arts, testing, counseling, and placement; vocational education was being cared for in Cincinnati by a school department of that name. The Council of Social Agencies co-operated in the support of the bureau, but the school department bore the major part of its budget and all the administrative authority.

Dr. Woolley's directorship yielded many reports of research studies, notably the volume already mentioned. In 1921 her associate, M. Edith Campbell, succeeded her and still remains as director.

Three other cities share the distinction of organizing the first permanent departments that were city-wide in their activity and supported by school-board funds. In Lincoln, Nebraska, the Junior Civic League, sponsored by the Lincoln Commercial Club and the public schools, in 1913 started plans for participation by pupils in civic and vocational life, and in January, 1914, definite work was begun in the schools. In September a Department of Vocational Guidance was created. Olive Pound was the supervisor for girls and W. M. Bryant for boys. In 1917 the work was widened and a Bureau of Child Welfare was established to include two subdepartments, vocational guidance and attendance. T. V. Goodrich was the head of the department and Harriet E. Towne was the girls' director; in 1920 she became director, the position she still holds. The plan developed is comprehensive, still including much more than vocational guidance.

In Minneapolis the Board of Education, on October 27, 1914, established the Department of Attendance and Vocational Guidance. It was concerned with educational and vocational guidance, employment certification, compulsory attendance, and school census. David Holbrook was the first director. In 1918 he was succeeded by Bertha Van Hove, and she in 1919 by Newton Hegel. There have been many changes in name and in emphasis since that time, but the work has persisted. In 1928 Barbara H. Wright became supervisor of counselors; in this capacity she is closely associated with instruction, the counselors taking part in curriculum revision.

Oakland, California, also organized a persisting department in 1914. It was called the Bureau of Educational Research, Information, and Guidance, and its first director was Wilfred E. Talbert. In 1917 the name was changed to Bureau of Research and Guidance, and Virgil E. Dickson was made both deputy superintendent of schools and director of the bureau. Nicholas Ricciardi was for a year assistant director in charge of guidance, until he left for work in the

state department. He issued a bulletin outlining life-career classes and a helpful leaflet for parents. Dickson carried on work in research and guidance in both Oakland and Berkeley (see below), resigning the former post in 1927. Herbert R. Stolz is in charge at our present writing.

In Des Moines, in this same 1914, Anna L. Burdick was appointed Director of Vocational Guidance. Assisted by committees of teachers, Mrs. Burdick issued two pamphlets: *Use of English for Vocational Guidance* and *The Des Moines Public School Pupil and Employment*. The work of the department ceased with the departure of its director to take up work with the Federal Board for Vocational Education, but the guidance work continued in the high school.

1915—Permanent organizations for Boston and Philadelphia. In Chapter 7 we have already outlined the events in Boston. Like Cincinnati, Boston has kept the same name.

Philadelphia, which had organized in 1913 a department for combined vocational education and guidance, a department which failed to begin work in guidance, assigned that function on October 12, 1915, to the Division of Compulsory Education, which since 1911 had been directed by Henry J. Gideon. This event was due to the persistent efforts of James S. Hiatt, Ann Pratt, Director of the White-Williams Foundation, and other public-spirited citizens. Milton Townsend of the department of vocational education was transferred to the guidance work, in charge of employment. Later Edith Duff Gwinn took charge of the school phases of guidance. Conservative progress has been made, with special attention to placement and to follow-up of school-leavers. Much of the placement effort is now undertaken by the Junior Employment Service of the state, affiliated with the United States Employment Service.

Pomona and San Jose, California, began especially interesting work during this year. Lester W. Bartlett organized for the former a comprehensive plan for elementary, intermediate (junior high), and high schools. Games and dramatics based on vocations began in the first grade, and for older pupils a unique plan for the use of English and other studies was carried out. Activities resembling specific occupations were introduced into the classroom, with the practices of each calling expressed in English, arithmetic, or science as the case required. Unlike the Grand Rapids plan, this was the English *of* the vocation, not *about* it. A cumulative record was kept for each pupil. Bartlett issued a pamphlet describing his work. With

his departure to another field the work in Pomona lapsed; the superintendent, G. Vernon Bennett, who had made Bartlett's work possible, himself left Pomona in 1919.

Charles L. Jacobs of San Jose published in the October, 1915, issue of *Manual Training and Vocational Education* an account of the work he had organized for that city. He stated significantly that the work included three departments—educational guidance, vocational guidance, and avocational guidance. This was one of the first hints of a wider use of the term guidance in current educational literature.

W. Carson Ryan, Jr., then editor of the *Vocational Guidance Bulletin*, published in the initial number (January, 1916) a list of fourteen officials said to have as their function the work of vocational guidance in as many cities. In addition to the departments in Minneapolis, Lincoln, Des Moines, Philadelphia, and Pomona, which we have already noted, the following cities are mentioned: Reading, Pennsylvania; Pittsburgh; Salina, Kansas; Spokane; Solvay, New York; Sioux City; New Britain; and Ogden City, Utah. Evidently most of these departments did not last for long.

1916—Chicago organizes a department. No permanent city-wide units were inaugurated in 1916. Chicago maintained for about fifteen years a large department organized in this year as the Bureau of Vocational Guidance. This work grew out of the beginnings described above; it was under the directorship of Anne S. Davis, who came to the work from the field of social service. Employment work was stressed, with the realization, however, as expressed by the director, that for the child under sixteen almost any school experience is likely to be better than that offered by the job. Miss Davis was often of direct help to employers in improving their handling of personnel problems.

In Denver, this year, Emily Griffiths organized the famous Opportunity School, which was indirectly but vitally concerned with guidance. William A. Wheatley, as Superintendent of Schools at Middletown, Connecticut, continued there his influence for classes in occupations, and issued a thoughtful letter to parents based on the problem of guidance.

Two other cities began voluntary effort. In Omaha the Association of Collegiate Alumnae organized a Vocation Bureau; office space was provided by the Board of Education, and the bureau issued a monthly pamphlet, *Vocational News Notes*.

1917—Pittsburgh and Atlanta departments are organized. Perhaps the stimulus of our entry into the First World War brought to fruition scattered effort in several other cities. Pittsburgh set up a school department in 1917, after some important experimentation by separate junior and senior high schools, particularly in the exploratory idea by the Latimer Junior High School, and after serious attempts at counseling in two of the high schools. Frank M. Leavitt, then assistant superintendent in charge of vocational education, was largely responsible for the central organization of guidance. Edward Rynearson was appointed Director of the Department of Vocational Guidance, though he continued as principal of one of the high schools. Full-time counselors were placed in each junior and senior high school; Pittsburgh had already introduced general shops and courses in junior business and in occupations. The placement office, a part of the guidance department, was under the charge of John D. Stark (T. D. Ellsworth is now in charge). The present director of guidance is Evan W. Ingram.

Atlanta likewise organized a permanent department in 1917 (May 1). Though supported at first by private funds, it was officially under the control of the public school system. George D. Halsey was the first director of the department called Research and Guidance. He was an engineer who had been associated at the University of Cincinnati with Dean Hermann Schneider, the originator of the part-time co-operative system of vocational education. Much interested in employment management, Halsey was in 1916 connected with an organization known as the Clearing House for Employment. He published pamphlets on personal efficiency and self-analysis in choosing a vocation, and a record card based on an "averaged opinion plan of vocational guidance." In 1920 the department was financed by the board of education. The director since 1921 has been Harold H. Bixler. Atlanta more perhaps than any other city except Providence has emphasized guidance through curricular studies.

In 1917 a unique service in guidance was offered by Jane L. Fox in the Long Beach High School, California. Vocational adjustment was made an elective study in the student's curriculum; one point out of the sixteen required for graduation could be earned by a cumulative four-year study of the problem of one's vocational adjustment. The scheme has had a long and successful administration and is worth consideration today.

1918—Seattle and Providence organize vocational guidance. If the Seattle Board of Education had supported the early effort of

Anna Y. Reed, and had fully administered the bureau, that city might be credited with the first school department of guidance. Her bureau, however, operating from 1913 to 1917, must be classified with that of Parsons in Boston as a public service effort of a voluntary nature. By 1916 or 1917 the school department was ready to take over the work, and on August 21, 1918, Charles Kirkpatrick, vice-principal of one of the high schools, was appointed to direct the work. He resigned shortly, however, and Samuel E. Fleming was appointed director in 1919. Though at present Assistant Superintendent of Schools, he is still in charge of the vocational guidance work, with Donald Nysten as Supervisor of Secondary School Guidance immediately responsible. The work has had a steady development.

Providence's organization resulted from the careful planning of Superintendent Isaac O. Winslow, which led in 1918 to the creation of another permanent department, that of Research and Guidance, in the Providence Public Schools, with Richard D. Allen as director. Dr. Allen came to the work from high-school teaching and the principalship of an elementary school in the same city. The work as of 1933 has been explained in four volumes by Dr. Allen. It is without doubt the most comprehensive work extant in the field of vocational and educational guidance; we shall have occasion to refer to it elsewhere.

In the same year Los Angeles organized a Department of Psychology under Arthur C. Southerland, but this had at first only a remote interest, if any, in vocational guidance. Two years later it was called Psychology and Educational Research, a name that persisted until 1932. Meanwhile two other agencies in the city were busy with guidance, and in 1932 a consolidation was effected in a Department of Educational Research and Guidance. This record does not register a permanent city-wide organization for vocational guidance during the first two decades of the national movement. In 1913 the city announced to high-school teachers that a department of vocational guidance was about to be established, and record cards were sent out for the use of homeroom teachers; but for some reason the plan was not carried out.

Summary of the first decade. Amendment to the above data may be necessary, since new source material may appear. In one city, where vocational guidance was started by a woman nationally known for work in vocational education for girls and women, a simple

questionnaire asking for information on the earliest beginnings in this field of endeavor yielded no mention of this person's leadership; the work began, so said the reply, nineteen years later than it actually did! Present directors would do well to look up past efforts.

It must be noted, moreover, that anxious superintendents were often misled into hitching vocational guidance to other innovations in education, perhaps on the score of financial expediency. These combinations often were (and still are) curious, the chief fallacy involved being confusion between a part and the whole. "Child welfare," for example, is a totalitarian term: it indicates the aim of the whole work of the school system. Secondary education covers a vast area; vocational guidance is merely one activity therein. Counseling, testing, and placement are merely steps or factors of vocational guidance, not the whole; consequently the term "vocational guidance and placement" logically resembles the expression "New England and Vermont."

Likewise educational efforts in research, attendance, and school census overlap vocational guidance, but cover much else outside the guidance area. Psychology too has only a fraction of its total contribution in the present area. "Adjustment" is a term of indefinite meaning; one can think of no event in life or education which does not require adjustment of thought or action, or both.

We shall later point out that the same variation in terminology persists in 1942.

Let us here set forth to the best of our knowledge and belief the fruits of the city organization of guidance in the first decade after Parsons.

EARLIEST PERMANENT DEPARTMENTS

	<i>Name of Department</i>	<i>First Director</i>	<i>Superintendent of Schools</i>
		1914	
Cincinnati	Vocation Bureau	Helen T. Woolley	Randall J. Condon
Lincoln, Neb.	Vocational Guidance	Olive Pound and W. M. Bryant	Frederick M. Hunter
Minneapolis	Attendance and Vocational Guidance	David Holbrook	Frank E. Spaulding
Oakland	Educational Research, Information, and Guidance	Wilfred E. Talbert	Albert C. Barker
		1915	
Boston	Vocational Guidance	Susan J. Ginn	Franklin B. Dyer
Philadelphia	Compulsory Education	Henry J. Gideon	John P. Garber

1917

Pittsburgh	Vocational Guidance	Edward Rynearson	William M. Davidson
Atlanta	Research & Guidance	George D. Halsey	J. C. Wardlaw

1918

Seattle	Vocational Guidance	Charles Kirkpatrick	Frank B. Cooper
Providence	Research & Guidance	Richard D. Allen	Isaac O. Winslow

Dr. Ryan's investigation. It was in 1918, as a kind of report on the first decade, that W. Carson Ryan, Jr., prepared his pamphlet, *Vocational Guidance and the Public Schools*, Bulletin No. 24, U.S. Bureau of Education (1918). Ryan was the specialist in industrial education and vocational guidance in the Bureau, and based his report on a questionnaire to more than ten thousand high schools. He lists thirteen studies on school leaving, reports on the collection and use of occupational information, gives data on the work in specific cities, and includes an extensive bibliography.

Some organizations effected in the second decade: 1919 to 1928. It seems safe to state that hardly a city in America failed to discuss vocational guidance during its first decade. The two books of clippings which Lincoln Filene has given to Harvard University afford ample evidence of this country-wide discussion. Hundreds of cities formed committees of teachers to study the subject; the writer served on such a committee in Los Angeles, beginning in 1911. Teachers joined with delegates from social organizations, chambers of commerce, employers' associations, unions, women's organizations, colleges, and other groups. Hartford also had such a committee in 1911, and Cleveland and Binghamton in 1912. Three of the large cities, New York, Rochester, and Cleveland, failed to proceed beyond the committee stage until the third decade, the work being confined to first-class service in individual schools.

1919—South Bend and Berkeley organize permanently. In the first year of the second decade South Bend organized the Vocational Guidance Bureau of the public schools, now known as the Department of Educational Guidance. Helen Dernbach was the first director and still serves. Berkeley's department was called Research and Guidance, and its first director was Virgil E. Dickson; he is now superintendent of schools and H. M. McClellan serves as director.

1920—Detroit and La Crosse organize. Another permanent department was that of Detroit: the Vocation Bureau. Professor Emery T. Filbey of the University of Chicago (now its vice-president) was asked by the school department to organize a plan and co-ordinate the work. After four months of service he returned to

the university, and Professor George E. Myers of the University of Michigan succeeded him. Apparently neither man was called director. Comprehensive work was undertaken; there were subdepartments of counseling, work permits, occupational information, placement, and testing. During 1921-23 A. H. Edgerton was supervisor of vocational information and school counseling. The department was reorganized in 1930 and called the Division of Guidance and Placement. Warren K. Layton is director, with Peter A. Cumins in charge of placement.

La Crosse at first called its department Attendance and Vocational Guidance, but later changed the name to Educational Guidance and then to Guidance. Josephine Hintgen has been the director and supervisor from the beginning. Cambridge, Massachusetts, that same year started one of its efforts at a city department, but this trial was short-lived.

This year too, 1920, saw the beginning of a voluntary effort of great value—the Vocational Service for Juniors in New York City. Under Mary H. S. Hayes an effective service in counseling, scholarships, and placement has been maintained; although not directly connected with the school department it has demonstrated the possibilities and has assisted in the inauguration of vocational guidance in a number of individual secondary schools. It thus helped to pave the way toward the organization of a department in the city schools, which was accomplished in 1929.

Jackson, Michigan, in 1920 established a Department of Educational and Vocational Guidance, active for a few years.

1921—Another permanent organization. Richmond, Indiana, was added to the list of enduring departments in 1921, with its superintendent of schools, William G. Bate, supervising the work. Bate had begun guidance work in the high school at Mankato, Minnesota, in 1915.

1922—Pasadena is organized. Fall River had for nine years a department that was organized in 1922. That same year Pasadena began a central office, called Research and Guidance, under W. Hardin Hughes. In 1928 the work was divided; the name was later changed to Guidance, and Margaret E. Bennett became director.

1923—Baltimore, New Orleans, and Elizabeth. The Baltimore organization of 1923 was placed under the general supervision of the department of vocational education, and Leona C. Buchwald was made Supervisor of Vocational Guidance. From the first a compre-

hensive and extensive program was organized; it has had a healthy growth.

New Orleans began definite vocational counseling in two high schools in February, 1923, and in September organized a department of vocational guidance, with Emma Pritchard Cooley as director. Miss Cooley had attended one of Bloomfield's classes at Boston University in 1914; after Red Cross work in Albania during and after the war she took up this work, which has had a wide influence in the South.

Elizabeth, New Jersey, set up the work in the same year, with Ralph P. Gallagher the supervisor of Secondary School Guidance.

1924—Niagara Falls. During 1924 Harris C. Allen became director of a Department of Research and Guidance of the Niagara Falls city schools, and thus began a continuous service. Springfield, Massachusetts, the same year organized a Department of Educational Research and Guidance, under charge of Harold P. Thomas, now of Lehigh University. Unfortunately the continuity of the effort was broken in 1936, to be begun again two years later as a Bureau of Adult Education, Vocational Guidance, and Placement.

Early in the twenties Cleveland organized a central supervision of the work, but in a few years it was discontinued. Bridgeport, Connecticut, in 1924 began work of five years' duration. Forty-eight bulletins were issued. From 1935 to 1937 a reorganized department operated, and in 1939 a third start was made.

1925—Hartford. Beginnings in Hartford, as in so many other cities, are attributable largely to the efforts of social agencies. A committee formed in 1911 was composed of persons representing principals, teachers, the Civic Club, the Juvenile Commission, and the Consumers League. This group, called the Vocational Guidance Committee, made a number of investigations and for the first two years employed a counselor in the high school, Lillian L. Kane. In 1921 William A. Wheatley was appointed to part-time guidance work connected with placement, school funds supporting the work. Sigmund Adler succeeded him in 1923. In 1925 a committee of citizens urged the school authorities (Hartford had eleven school committees at that time) to organize a department of vocational guidance. This was accomplished, with Lawrence W. Wheelock as director. Development of trade-school facilities was the first concern of the director, but vocational guidance has had a continuous development. The department is now called the Bureau of Guidance and Pupil Adjustment.

Three other departments were organized in 1925, but none per-

sisted. Erie formed a Central Guidance Committee, which had control until 1929; nine years later the work was reorganized. Gloversville, New York, had an organization for one year, to be renewed in 1935. St. Louis organized a Division of Vocational Counseling in 1925, which continued till 1935. At last accounts a survey has recommended the reorganization of the department.

In this year Marie McNamara began an intensive attempt at guidance through the homerooms of a junior high school in New Haven. Carefully prepared lesson plans, demonstration lessons taught by the supervisor herself for the benefit of the teachers, and frank and friendly observation and supervision of the work brought favorable results from this sometimes questioned scheme. It was early discovered, however, that occupational information could not be given effectively by homeroom teachers, and special regular classes in that subject were provided. No city-wide plan was organized.

1926 and 1927—Only one new department. Kansas City, Missouri, established a school department of High School Counseling in 1926, which has continued up to the present writing; Elizabeth K. Wilson is the director. Neither this year nor the next, at the height of "good times," saw the organization of the work in any other cities.

1928—Three New York cities and Milwaukee organize permanent departments. In 1928 Albany, New York, organized a division of research, with John H. Kingsley as director and Ethel A. Brewer as assistant director in charge of guidance. Cortland organized the same year a Guidance Department with Irving H. Loder as director, and Schenectady a department bearing the same name with Jessie D. Ebert as director.

In this year too the New York City effort was centralized, with Charles M. Smith as acting director (he became director in 1929). The work had grown through the appointment of counselors paid partly by the school system and partly by the Vocational Service for Juniors, the latter supervising.

In the same year Milwaukee appointed Francis C. Rosecrance director of a Life Advisement Department; W. W. Theisen is the present director.

All four of these efforts have persisted. In the same year a definite attempt was made to extend the work of guidance in Washington, D.C., but there was no central organization, though now one is expected. Brookline, Massachusetts, started a department in 1928, but it was closed a few years later and the work was confined largely to the high school.

Permanent departments of the second decade. The following is a list of seventeen continuing establishments organized during the years 1919-1928.

PERMANENT DEPARTMENTS ORGANIZED DURING THE SECOND DECADE

1919	Berkeley South Bend	1922	Pasadena	1925	Hartford
1920	Detroit La Crosse	1923	Baltimore Elizabeth New Orleans	1926	Kansas City, Mo.
1921	Richmond, Ind.	1924	Niagara Falls	1928	Albany Cortland Milwaukee New York City Schenectady

What of the third decade? Details of later years must be omitted. Most departments organized in the decade 1929 to 1938 have persisted; our records indicate that only the following proved temporary: Akron (1929-31), Wilmington, Delaware (1930-33), Knoxville (1932-34; reorganized 1935), and Elmira, New York (a few months during 1938).

The following twenty-four cities, many of which had moved unsuccessfully before, organized permanently during these years:

PERMANENT DEPARTMENTS OF THE THIRD DECADE

1929	Des Moines Mishawaka, Ind.	1936	Evansville, Ind. Oklahoma City St. Paul Syracuse Yonkers
1932	Los Angeles		
1933	Newton, Mass. Quincy, Mass.	1937	Binghamton, N. Y. Buffalo Rochester San Francisco
1934	Cleveland Fort Wayne, Ind. Richmond, Va.		
1935	Chicago (Bureau of Child Study) Gloversville, N. Y. Knoxville Pomona, Cal. Salt Lake City	1938	Chicago (Bureau of Occupational Research) Erie, Pa.

Variety in nomenclature still persists. That vocational guidance had a prophetic beginning is shown by the fact that variety characterizes the present plans of organization, as is shown by the names used in 1938. Following is the tabulation from fifty-two city departments listed in *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine* for June, 1938:

NAMES OF DEPARTMENTS THIRTY YEARS AFTER PARSONS

Vocation Bureau.....	1	Individual Guidance.....	1
Vocational Guidance.....	4	Life Advisement.....	1
Guidance.....	19	Pupil Personnel.....	1
Vocational and Educational Guidance	3	Research and Guidance.....	2
Educational and Vocational Guidance	1	Guidance and Research.....	5
Educational Guidance.....	1	Educational Research and Guidance.	1
Child Guidance ³	1	Vocational Education and Guidance.	1
Counseling.....	3	Vocational Education and Vocational	
Counseling and Guidance.....	1	Guidance.....	1
Child Study.....	1	Vocational Investigation, Guidance,	
Guidance and Placement.....	2	and Placement.....	1
Bureau of Occupational Research ...	1	Vocational Placement.....	1

This variety is confusing indeed. Vocational guidance apparently has been "picked up" by various other services, and has in turn appropriated other still newer activities. If the situation were merely that of endeavoring to find a manageable administrative place for an educational activity one might wait with patience. But only the dim future can resolve the present crazy-quilt of city school administration in America.

City departments of the future. It was near the close of this third decade that the Office of Education at Washington, through its Vocational Education Division, obtained funds to assist in the study and promotion of vocational guidance. A Division of Occupational Information and Guidance was established in 1938, the thirtieth year of the movement, with Harry A. Jager in charge. This service is able to contribute toward the salaries of state directors, besides carrying on itself a number of important activities to be described in our next chapter. The effect of this help is sure to be reflected in the organization of new city departments and in the improvement of the old.

The reader will have noted the fact that many American cities get along without a centralized organization, allowing each school to work out its own plans with no central supervision except that supplied by busy superintendents or assistant superintendents of schools. Inadequate as is such planless effort, false economy controls. Doubtless certain substitutes are tried, such as conferences of principals, committees of teachers, and supervision by heads of existing departments more or less concerned with vocational guidance.

The depression and the defense effort both have emphasized the need for guidance, though in differing ways and aspects. It seems fair to say that the work will increase and improve in succeeding decades with more effective plans of organization and administration.

³ The term "child guidance" is used by the mental hygienists to designate service to maladjusted young children and their parents.

State, County, and Federal Activity

Beginnings of official state interest. Whether state or city educational authorities first evinced interest in vocational guidance will depend upon the specific state. Perhaps a successful city plan caught the attention of the state office, whereupon state activity would stimulate organization in other cities of the state.

Two educational subdepartments naturally enough were concerned with guidance: the assistant superintendent (or assistant commissioner) in charge of secondary education, and the assistant or director in charge of vocational education. Depending upon the vision and resources of either of these two officials, stirrings of activity in the state office took place.

Undoubtedly the assistant in charge of vocational education had a great advantage, in spite of the fact that state supervision of that work was undertaken not much before the beginnings of guidance. The National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education (now the American Vocational Association) co-operated in the 1910 conference on vocational guidance in Boston, and the next few meetings of the still infant guidance association were held in conjunction with that society. But some of the leaders in vocational education were markedly skeptical of vocational guidance, as indeed they were concerning the general education provided in the secondary schools. Perhaps this attitude, together with the interest of vocational counselors in nonindustrial careers, led the guidance movement in the direction of general education and toward the then Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association, with which the annual conventions are now unofficially associated.

Relationships between vocational guidance and vocational education. It is well to recall that vocational education came to this country from Germany, and that the choice of a trade by the pupil himself was at first neglected. Not even selection of its pupils by the vocational school itself was considered at first; for many years not a single book on the field of training discussed the selection of trainees. Selection of trades to be taught, of teachers, of equipment, of methods—but not of boys and girls.

It must be recalled also that the Smith-Hughes Act, providing for federal aid for industrial, agricultural, and home economics educa-

tion of less than college grade, and teacher training therefor, was a war measure, passed early in 1917. And, further, that at that very time vocational guidance might have received similar assistance if the writers of the bill had pleased to have it so. It has been argued with cogency, moreover, that the administration of the law even as it was worded might have allowed assistance to guidance. If a sum of money were voted for a school building, it was asserted, a part of this sum might legitimately be expended on a cement walk to and from the building. Vocational guidance furnished such a decent walk up to the structure of vocational education, and a path away from it to a job and a career. Moreover guidance is needed within the building itself. But such views did not prevail.

Time, however, was all on the side of better relationships. The men in charge of vocational education in Pennsylvania, New York, and other states took the larger view, appointing agents to assist in the development of "prevocational" education, general shops, classes in occupations, testing, counseling, placement, and follow-up. And happily the former Federal Board for Vocational Education, separate from all else at Washington, was in 1933 made a division of the United States Office of Education, where wider influences prevail.

State interest aroused at early conventions. During the period 1910-16 Meyer Bloomfield, director of the Vocation Bureau of Boston, made many journeys speaking for his cause, especially at conventions of teachers; Jesse B. Davis likewise lectured widely. These and other influences led the Iowa State Teachers' Association to appoint a committee which in 1914 issued a report entitled *Vocational Education and Vocational Guidance: A Survey and Preliminary Report by a Committee Appointed by the Iowa State Teachers' Association*. Anna L. Burdick, secretary of the Committee, wrote most of the report. Vocational guidance is covered in the last chapter (pages 92-96). Important points and quotations are as follows:

Prevocational courses which aim to give an occupational round of experiences rather than skill, as a means of self-discovery, are a most valuable factor in vocational guidance.

In the high school, vocational guidance [may be given] through vocational counselors and courses in vocational information.

These quotations indicate the idea of a tryout course and courses in vocational information. Later the statement is made that "courses in vocational information, through the avenues of English, civics,

and economics, particularly that of Grand Rapids, have passed the experimental stage."

Perhaps the first legal provision for state-wide vocational guidance was that of Vermont in 1915. The state board was directed to arrange for a course of study on vocational opportunities to be given in all junior high schools.

In 1915 a committee was appointed by the California Teachers' Association, Southern Section, to prepare a statement of the needs, aims, and methods of vocational guidance. The committee, consisting of L. W. Bartlett, Jane L. Fox, and A. C. Hargraves, published a short report in the *Sierra Educational Review* for February, 1916. From time to time the commissioner in charge of secondary education of the state department, Nicholas Ricciardi, interested himself in guidance, holding a series of conferences about 1930, "directed to the producing of a handbook for counselors." This was published in 1931 as *Guide for Counseling in the Secondary Schools*. It contained seven chapters, on need, guiding philosophy, functions, procedures, outcomes, a training program for counselors, and criteria for measuring effectiveness.

About 1930 too the state High School Teachers' Association appointed a committee of fifteen, with Professor William M. Proctor as chairman, and the committee issued a typewritten report of thirty pages. This report surveyed the current practices in high schools, and made comprehensive recommendations.

Other states begin interest. The Utah legislature in 1919 passed a law requiring educational supervision over all persons twelve to eighteen years of age, and the following year Francis W. Kirkhan and I. B. Ball of the state office for vocational education issued a circular of directions to school officials. The plan included care of citizenship, health, and recreation, besides vocational guidance and part-time vocational courses for those at work.

A special commission to investigate the educational system of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts reported on January 29, 1919, recommending a state department of vocational guidance. No action was taken on this recommendation, although a hearing was held before the Ways and Means Committee of the legislature.

In Pennsylvania L. H. Dennis, as state director of vocational education, early fostered the work of guidance. He appointed H. L. Holbrook field secretary in vocational guidance in 1918; from 1920 to 1924, as supervisor of industrial education, Holbrook promoted vocational guidance through exploratory courses, general shop, and

tryout work, and from 1924 to 1928 he was again state supervisor of guidance. A series of publications included a general bulletin on possibilities in guidance, issued in 1925 and revised in 1935 and 1939.

In Connecticut Jesse B. Davis became state supervisor of secondary education in 1920, and in 1922 issued a bulletin of useful suggestions for guidance, including a plan for a cumulative record. The state department has since held many conferences on guidance, has made several surveys on practices, and in 1932 prepared a record card for small high schools. About 1932 the new supervisor of secondary education, Paul D. Collier, engineered a number of surveys on practices in Connecticut high schools. Project VII, conducted by three principals, Samuel S. Brooks, J. Wendell Yeo, and Gustave A. Feingold, yielded a comprehensive appraisal of guidance effort in the state, which was on the whole encouraging.

New York State has proceeded further in support of vocational guidance than has any other state. In 1925 George E. Hutcherson, after two years of supervising industrial arts for the state, was appointed to do part-time work in the supervision of vocational guidance. In 1929 a law authorized state support for salaries of counselors and directed the commissioner of education to set up proper qualifications. Bureaus for vocational guidance, it was decreed, might be set up by local school authorities, and the activities of such services were specified in the law. It was further directed that a state supervisor of vocational and educational guidance should be appointed and his duties were stated. The sum of five thousand dollars was appropriated for carrying out the act. Hutcherson was thereupon appointed to full-time work as supervisor, beginning with the summer of 1929.

In 1935 the New York legislature passed amendments strengthening the law, and specifying further that each city of over one hundred thousand population must conduct and maintain a guidance bureau. The following duties were stated: information and counsel on opportunities, cumulative records, employment and follow-up service, research studies on vocations and on characteristics of pupils, organizing and supervising courses of study on opportunities, counseling on educational and vocational plans. State aid for counselors in schools was at this time discontinued. In 1936 the name of the state office was changed and Hutcherson became Chief of the Guidance Bureau. The bureau is actively and intelligently promoting the work in the state.

In 1936 counselors of New York organized a state association and three years later started a news bulletin.

In Michigan the state agents for vocational education fostered an excellent plan for "household mechanics," for which a pamphlet was issued in 1922. In Maine the corresponding office assisted in planning a traveling shop which furnished a number of schools with exploratory exercises in mechanics. A similar plan was used for girls in home economics courses. In 1925 thirteen regional conferences were devoted to exploratory courses in home mechanics.

These instances were typical of the good efforts made by many state authorities in vocational education to assist the manual training people to divorce themselves from a program devoted to wood, and to organize plans for diversified exercises in all the common industrial fields.

Wisconsin is now the only state which has two separate boards of education, and the State Board of Vocational and Adult Education has been greatly interested in vocational guidance. In 1911 there began, largely through the interest of A. R. Graham, director of part-time education, an extensive form of follow-up by which experiences in industry were integrated with school work. As early as 1914 lessons for continuation school pupils were issued, aimed chiefly at guidance. In 1921 Jennie M. Turner issued a pamphlet, *Fundamentals of the Curriculum and the Course of Study*, which discusses the study of occupations and the tryout plan. In 1926 she published a course of twenty lessons in occupations for teachers, accompanied by a teachers' manual. This was followed in 1928 by a list of biographies relating to occupations, and in 1930 by a plan of surveys and a teachers' manual. Subsequent bulletins show the extent of the work in the continuation and other schools, particularly as they relate to occupational information, exploratory courses, and follow-up or co-ordination. In 1933 a committee of the state teachers' association prepared a report on counseling in Wisconsin schools.

Virginia made some progress in the state office through both the supervisor of secondary schools, Sidney B. Hall, and the department of trade and industrial education, directed by C. J. Hyslop. In 1929 this department became responsible for guidance, and the service was reorganized seven years later under a division of special and adult education.

In Ohio, in 1930, D. H. Eikenberry was made director of a Division of Guidance in the state department of education. A series of comprehensive reports on vocational and educational guidance was

projected, but only one was published, the service being discontinued in 1931.

In New Jersey, in 1932 and again in 1937, surveys of practices were conducted by a committee sponsored by Rutgers University. In 1937 the New Jersey Secondary School Teachers' Association issued a report on that state, *Guidance Service Standards for Secondary Schools*.

Vermont in 1938 issued a guidance manual for secondary schools, prepared under the sponsorship of Edwin W. Davis, state director of research and guidance.

Later state activity is noted below.

Some plans for counties. Outside of New England each state has a county organization for education, and it was natural that county superintendents of schools should undertake to foster vocational guidance. Perhaps the earliest effort was described by Harold L. Holbrook in the 23d Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Franklin County, Pennsylvania, under the direction of Hannah A. Kieffer, a state normal school teacher, and the county superintendent, J. L. Finafrock, about 1923 sponsored experiments in guidance in a number of rural schools, both elementary and secondary.

About the same time or perhaps even earlier Elmer E. White, Superintendent of Lafayette County, Missouri, issued a *County Course of Study in Vocational Guidance* for the seventh and eighth grades, a twenty-six-page pamphlet dated September 1, 1922. This was developed with the help of Professor J. D. Elliff of the state university.

Craven County, North Carolina, began extensive plans for guidance before 1928; R. S. Proctor was the county superintendent. Latham Hatcher as president and director of the Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth (see Chapter 12), a national organization for the improvement of educational and social conditions, worked out and proposed a co-operative plan for Craven County, and two field workers were engaged to organize guidance. They journeyed throughout the county, helping rural teachers with literature, lesson plans, demonstration projects, surveys, and the like. Twelve bulletins were issued, and Dr. Hatcher edited a report on the work. The effort included case studies, individual counseling, occupational surveys, questionnaires, classes in occupational information, and conferences for the preparation of rural teachers to carry on the work.

The principal effect of the work in the region itself was the

stimulus given to the teachers to recognize the problems of individuals and to give due regard to their specific needs. An exhibit of materials was loaned in several parts of the county.

In 1934 the Alliance undertook similar work in Breathitt County, Kentucky. A number of conferences including school people and others were held and materials based on occupational and social conditions were prepared. Out of these grew the preparation of illustrative lessons for the use of teachers and counselors. The National Occupational Conference participated in the guidance work in Breathitt County, and Wilbur I. Gooch, Franklin J. Keller, and others took part in the surveys and the conferences. A report of the Breathitt County work was given in *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine* for June, 1936. Special provision was made in this plan for the preparation of teachers for the guidance work.

As an outgrowth of this project similar conferences were held in Harlan County and other localities both in Kentucky and Tennessee.

In New York State, Rockland County began, in 1931, a comprehensive and effective plan which is an excellent example for rural areas. An amendment to the state educational code in 1930 allowed aid up to one thousand dollars for one-half the salary of a director of guidance work in the county unit. In August of 1931 a Vocational Education and Extension Board of nine members—a lay board to supervise the work—was established in the county. M. F. Fairheller was appointed to direct the work but served only a year. In 1932 Leonard M. Miller was made director, and the work rapidly developed. It has been well reported in *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine* for May, 1936 (Section 2).

The following policies were set up:

1. All sorts of agencies should be used in the work.
2. All youth must be helped.
3. Youth should be given information about themselves, society, and occupational life, equipping them for self-decisions.
4. Services must be given at a minimum of cost.
5. Surveys relating to available services, census data, follow-up experiences, and trends of employment are essential.
6. Many excellent services may be obtained without cost.
7. "In service" training of teachers is necessary.
8. Technical phases of guidance should be under charge of trained counselors, supervised by principals.
9. Expansion should take place in individual schools only in response to a felt need.
10. The public should be thoroughly informed about the program.

The staff has grown to include a county psychologist, a physical education instructor, and a junior placement counselor. Beginning work with five schools, the staff now serves eighteen. In addition to the supervising board there has been organized a Rockland County Guidance and Personnel Association, including teachers, social workers, and personnel and placement directors in industry. At the present writing three or more other counties in New York are setting up corresponding plans.

Early federal assistance before 1933. In previous chapters a number of instances have been given in which a few federal agencies participated. The following is a partial summary of these and of some other phases of participation:

1. *Vocational Guidance*: part of the 25th Annual Report of the Commission of Labor (1911). This report described earlier work in Boston and New York and reproduced much illustrative material.
2. Puerto Rico: Meyer Bloomfield made a study of education in Puerto Rico and reported to the War Department (1911).
3. *Vocational Guidance*: a report of the Grand Rapids convention at which the National Vocational Guidance Association was organized (1914).
4. *The School and the Start in Life*: a study of the relation between school and employment in England, Scotland, and Germany, by Meyer Bloomfield (1914).
5. In 1918 the Federal Board for Vocational Education was given responsibility for a Rehabilitation Division for Disabled Soldiers. When the Veterans' Bureau was established in 1921 this work was transferred to it. Meanwhile, in 1920, plans for civilian rehabilitation were effected and assigned to the Federal Board; this is now a separate division in the Office of Education of the Federal Security Agency, and has a splendid record of accomplishment. John A. Kratz is in charge.

The rehabilitation of disabled soldiers is said to be one of the greatest experiments in education and guidance ever conducted in any country. Full cognizance of the necessary steps in vocational guidance was taken, with conscious choices by the veteran himself. Over one hundred thousand men completed training and of these 98 per cent were immediately employed. Forty-four monographs were prepared and circulated.

6. *Vocational Guidance Bulletin*: published for the National Vocational Guidance Association by the secretary of the Association, W. Carson Ryan, Jr., as editor, while he was connected with the Bureau of Education (1915-18).
7. *Vocational Guidance in Secondary Education*: a report by the Com-

- mission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, Bureau of Education (1918).
8. *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*: a report by the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, Bureau of Education (1918).
 9. *Trade Specifications and Occupational Index*: a large number of pamphlets on various occupations followed in the army, United States Army (1918).
 10. *Index of Occupations*: an alphabetical list of army occupations, War Department (1918).
 11. *Descriptions of Occupations*: scores of pamphlets on specifications of various occupations, United States Employment Service of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (1918).
 12. Trade tests, United States Army (1918): see Chapter 15.
 13. Rating sheets, United States Army (1918).
 14. Tests: "Army Alpha" and "Army Beta" (1918).
 15. *Army Mental Tests; Methods, Typical Results, and Practical Applications*: a pamphlet giving the mental-test scores for many occupations, source undesignated (1918).
 16. *History of the Personnel System and The Personnel Manual*: the full story of the contribution by psychologists, United States Army (1919).
 17. *Vocational Guidance and the Public Schools*: a comprehensive statement, with a full bibliography, by W. Carson Ryan, Jr., Bureau of Education (1918).
 18. *Vocational Guidance and Junior Placement*: an account of beginnings in vocational guidance in a number of American cities, Children's Bureau of Department of Labor (1925).
 19. *Vocational Guidance and Junior Placement*: an unpublished revision of the preceding book for the use of the conference on child health and protection, Children's Bureau of Department of Labor (1931).
 20. *Vocational Guidance and Child Labor*: report of the subcommittee on Vocational Guidance and Placement of the President's Conference on Child Health and Protection at Washington in 1932, by Anne S. Davis, editor (1932).

In addition to the above list, which is partial at best, the Bureau of the Census of the United States Department of Commerce regularly prepares for the census its volumes called *Classification Index* and *Alphabetical Index of Occupations*, and publishes occupational figures for each census.

Miscellaneous federal activities. Although the Federal Board for Vocational Education did not promote vocational guidance, it

issued a great many job analyses that were useful in classes on occupational information.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics has always been busy with publications and periodicals which are valuable in vocational guidance. The Federal Employment Service likewise furthered guidance, during the period directly after the war when Jesse B. Davis and Anna Y. Reed were connected with the Junior Placement Service, later named the Junior Division of the United States Employment Service. At the present time the Bureau of Employment Security of the Federal Security Agency is active both with adults and with juveniles in placement and employment supervision.

The National Youth Administration, organized by executive order in 1935, has a section on guidance, the Division of Youth Personnel, in charge of Mary H. S. Hayes. The Youth Administration has been able, due to a fortunate decentralization in administrative machinery, to issue scores of reports on surveys and other projects, and many of these have proved especially valuable for purposes of vocational guidance. The Youth Administration itself has maintained a variety of exploratory exercises to teach occupational opportunities and personality improvement, and has maintained extensive work in counseling, placement, and follow-up.

The Works Progress Administration and similar divisions of the "New Deal" have shown some interest in occupational information and guidance and much in placement.

The Civilian Conservation Corps, with educational services supervised in the Office of Education at Washington, has maintained in each camp an educational director whose chief work has been devoted to guidance. The corps has also maintained a centralized effort for improvement of guidance techniques in each of the nine corps areas into which the work is divided.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics at Washington has organized the Occupational Outlook Division, which will publish statistics on trends, chiefly in the *Monthly Labor Review*.

The Social Security Board has as part of its work sections devoted to unemployment compensation, aid for crippled children, and other child welfare services. The rehabilitation efforts of the federal government would form a dramatic history by themselves. Stimulated by the plight of wounded and disabled soldiers returning from the war in 1917, these services have been co-ordinated by John Kratz in the Office of Education at Washington and developed, through federal aid, in departments of vocational education in each state. The

work is a combination of guidance and training, and in this particular field vocational guidance has had its full share of attention, with consequent efficiency in the rehabilitation services.

The Farm Credit Administration has had many opportunities for guidance among farmers. The Tennessee Valley Authority has had much to do with education in its area and many experiments in vocational and other forms of guidance have been tried. The Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Department of the Interior, through Miss Mary Stewart, Director of Vocational Guidance, has spread the guidance movement into the Indian schools and colleges everywhere.

The National Labor Relations Board, while busy with hearings in reference to labor representation, has of course found many situations related to guidance. The Department of Agriculture has likewise fostered many activities related directly or indirectly to vocational guidance.

Our list might be greatly extended. There is the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training, to aid employers and unions in working out plans; the Children's Bureau and the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor; the Civil Service Commission, which classifies and analyzes services and holds efficiency examinations (Lawrence J. O'Rourke of the Commission has contributed tests in clerical and mechanical abilities); and many others less directly concerned. Most promising of all, perhaps, personnel departments have recently been organized throughout the departments in Washington, with an Executive Liaison Office for Personnel Management under the direction of the President. In 1940 there were two hundred and twenty-six personnel workers in government service.

States have corresponding services. While the discussion in this book is chiefly concerned with educational institutions, it is pertinent to note that the account just given could largely be translated into state terms as well. Each of the forty-eight areas has its state departments of labor, agriculture, and the rest, and these often engage in services related to vocational guidance. The agricultural colleges are especially concerned, many of them having direct charge of 4-H club work and like services.

Federal effort begins in earnest. The First World War brought federal aid for vocational education (1917); the depression brought aid for vocational guidance. Activities of the federal agencies, particularly those of the Works Progress Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the National Youth Administration, and the Junior Division of the United States Employment Service, showed

the great need for guidance. Then came the Maryland Youth Survey, conducted for the American Youth Commission and reported by Howard M. Bell as *Youth Tell Their Story*. It was published by the American Council on Education in 1938.

As early as 1931 Maris M. Proffitt of the Office of Education had been transferred to activity in guidance; this and the efforts of Anna L. Burdick were perhaps the germ of the present service. In 1937 the National Occupational Conference offered time and money (through the Carnegie Corporation) for the development of federal interest, and an advisory committee representing several interests functioned (see Chapter 19).

Meanwhile the Commissioner of Education made a ruling that federal funds of the Smith-Hughes and George-Deen acts could be made available for work in vocational guidance, and a new activity under the Division of Vocational Education of the Office of Education was organized. First announcement was made by the Commissioner at the February, 1938, convention of the American Association of School Administrators (see *Occupations*, November, 1938). On August 1, 1938, Harry A. Jager, formerly a high school principal of Providence, was made Chief of the new Occupational Information and Guidance Service.

Several activities were promptly undertaken: conferences to formulate policies, studies of occupations, bibliographies, manuals, and investigations of methods of studying the individual, practices in counseling, and plans for placement and follow-up. The earliest personnel, besides Jager as Chief, were Layton S. Hawkins, Giles M. Ruch, Walter J. Greenleaf, Walter V. Bingham, and Paul W. Chapman. The present staff includes Jager, Greenleaf, Royce E. Brewster, Marguerite W. Zapoleon, and Franklin R. Zeran. Dr. Greenleaf, while connected with the Division of Higher Education in the Office, a few years ago had published nineteen "Guidance Leaflets."

The staff has already issued a report on counselors in public high schools, a manual on the individual inventory, a report on organization and administration, a bibliography on occupational information and measurement, a short bibliography on programs of guidance in fourteen states, a list of available pamphlet material, a list of summer-school courses, a leaflet indicating where vocational counsel may be obtained, and other useful material. A continuing series of reports, studies, and bibliographies is planned.

Federal-aided state supervisors. Almost at once the state of Maryland accepted the conditions of the new arrangement, and

2. Floyd Cromwell was appointed state supervisor for occupational information and guidance (1938), with headquarters in the department of vocational education of the state office. Other states rapidly followed, and doubtless within a decade or less most will have appointed supervisors. A state must amend its provisions for vocational education, and then within resources available one-half of the salary and traveling expenses of a state supervisor for guidance may be reimbursed out of federal funds. States may of course spend additional funds of their own.

The statement on the need for guidance, in the Maryland document providing for the service, is substantially that at the beginning of this chapter: that vocational education cannot function successfully without careful admission of pupils who have carefully selected their objectives. The duties specified for the supervisor include the following:

DUTIES OF THE MARYLAND SUPERVISOR

- A. Studies and investigations:
 - 1. Employment conditions
 - 2. School facilities for establishing courses in occupational information
 - 3. Plans, courses of study, and literature on surveys, etc.
 - 4. Lists of equipment, books, etc. needed
- B. Promotion:
 - 1. Counsel with and aid to educational authorities in organizing programs of guidance
 - 2. Rural needs, and proposals for co-operative services for larger units
 - 3. Training of counselors
 - 4. Speaking on guidance, for civic and other organizations
- C. Supervision:
 - 1. General supervision of guidance programs in public secondary schools
 - 2. Co-operation with state credentials official in determining eligibility of teacher-counselors, when state aid is given toward salaries
 - 3. Group conferences for improving the work of guidance
 - 4. Supervision of teacher-counselors in service
- D. Records and reports:
 - 1. Preparation of a proposed program for each year's work
 - 2. Reports on records of local effort, to state board
 - 3. Annual report of the work accomplished, each year.

Provision was also made for service to out-of-school youth and to

adults. (See *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, January, 1939.)

Prospects of the new plan. The above has been typical of the plans and procedures in nearly a score of other states which have so far initiated state programs. The resultant influence on the work of vocational guidance in American communities will be great and far-reaching. The guidance service, however, is set up in such a way as to be chiefly advisory, without administrative power or strict supervision. Moreover the present administrators of the service, Commissioner Studebaker, Assistant Commissioner J. C. Wright, and Mr. Jager, have interpreted the scope of the work so liberally that over-control seems fortunately out of the question. The functions of the new service will be to furnish a clearinghouse on procedures in guidance, and a co-ordinating agency for the various geographical areas that wish it.

Though some of the early workers in vocational education did little to further vocational guidance, it is encouraging that the American Vocational Association has for its recent conventions maintained an active section on guidance. If the National Vocational Guidance Association will offer intelligent and continuing co-operation, perhaps maintaining a standing committee for this sole purpose, the work should prosper and greatly improve the nation's work in this field.

To have active federal interest in vocational guidance, and to have this interest flow over into state departments of education, is history-making indeed.

Probable effect on local programs. At the end of Chapter 8 we indicated the great variety of names used and corresponding activity in various American cities. The uncertainty inherent in the present situation may be cleared up by the developments growing out of federal aid. If effort for vocational and educational guidance can be centralized as a city department, with sympathetic encouragement by its more powerful neighbor, vocational education, then the other areas of guidance—civic, social, recreational, health, ethical, home membership, and the rest—can be left for other agencies. If definite aims are important, as well as division of labor in carrying out these aims, such an arrangement should contribute to the effectiveness of all forms of guidance.

Vocational guidance has reached its present hopeful development largely because of three conditions: (1) It has had as its sponsors a body of intelligent persons devotedly giving their attention to this

single area of educational effort. (2) It has freely co-operated with many other agencies and movements—psychologists, vocational educators, deans, administrators, personnel directors, economists, and publicists. (3) It has preserved its integrity, refusing to annex other movements and, most of all, refusing to be absorbed by them.

If vocational guidance can be preserved as an entity unhampered by overcontrol by any other agency—and we judge it can under the new plans—the effect on local communities and local youth should be altogether good. Likewise the effect on vocational education will be beneficial: better selection of students, more attention to job wisdom, plans for versatility in job skills, and preparation for labor-union membership.

Using Existing Facilities and Developing New

Complexity of the new movement. The vicissitudes of various cities in starting this new movement for vocational guidance indicate the variety of experimentation and the lack of any specific agreement, whether of definition, name, or procedure. Indeed, vocational guidance itself is complex, requiring varying expression in various institutions and also a diversity of tools, facilities, procedures, and personnel.

The early workers must often have puzzled over such questions as the following: How can we use some of the well-known practices? How can we adapt and modify some of our present tools? How can we develop new ones? Shall we use the old studies, such as English and manual training, or must new subjects be developed? Should these new subjects receive "credit" toward graduation, or shall they be organized as "extras"? Shall regular teachers do the work of counseling, or shall we call in social workers or other specialists new to the teaching profession?

Meanwhile vocational guidance received its share of careless criticism from "outsiders" and dangerous advice from its so-called friends. The classicists objected to the vocational emphasis, high-school principals thought it would be useless or even dangerous in any program of education worthy of the name, psychologists thought vocational guidance was not going to be scientific enough, practical-minded individuals stated that only placement was needed, and, strangest of all, many of the vocational education people stated that they had no need and no use for vocational guidance and that they could do well without it. A Rochester editor declared that a fifth wheel was to be introduced into the curriculum and that unnecessary persons would be awarded a fat salary for a useless service. Münsterberg made his declarations that the work should be turned over to psychologists. J. Adams Puffer, who organized the Beacon Vocational Bureau of Boston and thereby confused the public regarding the Vocation Bureau of Boston, in 1913 published the book *Vocational Guidance; The Teacher as a Counselor*, giving the notion that present teachers without particular additional training could carry on the new movement.

Individual counseling. Counseling, of course, regularly organized

and paid for out of the educational budget, was an inherent part of the earliest proposals in vocational guidance. This in itself was a revolutionary idea. That attendance on four classes in high school—English, ancient history, algebra, and Latin, plus an occasional auditorium meeting and possibly chorus singing once a week—does not constitute the whole of education was a pronouncement disturbing enough. By now, however, many educators are beginning to suspect that the use of the class system of teaching, the wholesale method, has been merely a pendulum swing, and that “instruction” itself, not to say guidance, requires a definite plan of personal conferences. Be that as it may, Parsons and his followers insisted on the need for counseling. Moreover, their experiments seemed to encourage the belief in its permanent usefulness. It was widely developed as a facility and utility in guidance; indeed, at first it was almost the only tool. As a one-tool movement, however, vocational guidance could not possibly have reached its present value; as a matter of fact, part of the cause of the numerous breakdowns in city experiments in the early years was the paucity of tools and the lack of connection with the curriculum. Yet in spite of this and other hazards and handicaps, and in spite of the obstacles of severe criticism and active opposition, some genuine beginnings of effective work were recorded.

It must not be supposed that this necessary first tool, the counselor, was introduced without reluctance. Attempts often were first made to adapt existing tools to its function; deans and vice-principals were many times so used. But it was early discovered that those in charge of discipline (except perhaps in schools with effective student government under a granted charter) could hardly secure the confidence of pupils sufficiently. Likewise the principal, especially in small schools, tried giving educational and vocational guidance. “If this is as important as you say it is,” asked a Pennsylvania principal in a conference of administrators in 1922, “why shouldn’t the big boss himself do it?” The form of the question gives the answer. A counselor is the one adult who takes and must take a student-eye view of the school.

Gradually, therefore, with much varied experimentation, it has become well recognized, whether acted upon or not, that counselors should be appointed as necessary agencies for guidance. Best of all, experience in counseling soon showed the need for new functions, and so began the effort to adapt other agencies to the discharge of these functions or to develop new ones. Thus when the counselor found out that new knowledge and new experience needed to be

given to pupils he asked himself whether classes—the wholesale method—might not be utilized.

The use of English composition. One of the most successful early plans was developed by Jesse B. Davis of Grand Rapids, through the adaptation of English composition to the purpose of guidance. Teachers and pupils of English are constantly searching for subjects for their compositions—why not use vocational planning? This idea came to Davis about 1907 when he was a house principal in a Detroit high school (see Chapter 4), and he developed it in the high school at Grand Rapids, of which he became principal that year. Naturally boys and girls approved the new plan and the younger teachers received it enthusiastically. The proposals of Davis were first described by him in the Boston Conference in 1910 and were set forth in fully developed form in his book, *Vocational and Moral Guidance* (1914), a book that interested teachers of English as well as those of other subjects. This book consists of a statement of the problem of vocational guidance and that of moral guidance, the plan proposed, the characteristics that make for success, the world's work as service, choosing and preparing for one's career, ethical viewpoints in vocational life, the use of the curriculum, what parents can do, the problem of placement and organization. Part II of the book was contributed by nine colleagues and professional associates of Davis, including Helen T. Woolley of Cincinnati, and described the application of the plan to specific situations.

Davis became vocational guidance director of the city of Grand Rapids and served as such from 1912 to 1920, in addition to his work as principal. For the last two of these years he was also president of the Grand Rapids junior college. In 1920 he undertook work as supervisor of secondary education in the State of Connecticut and later was a lecturer at Harvard University and a professor and then Dean of the School of Education of Boston University. He was also a member of the committee that drew up the pamphlet, *The Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*.

The use of other studies. It would be impossible to discover how many experiments have been made with other studies in the curriculum. The writer himself has heard of the use of the following for purposes of vocational enlightenment: mathematics, general science, hygiene, physiology, history, civics, economics, literature, oral English, Latin, commercial geography, materials of industry. Benjamin C. Gruenberg of the Julia Richmond High School in New York City early made extensive use of biology for teaching voca-

tional information, and he was one of a multitude of experimenters with "regular" studies.

Such a plan is convenient in that no disturbance in the present curriculum is necessary and therefore avoids the unpleasantness of faculty discussion as to what studies are of most (or least!) worth. Like vocational conferences and vocational weeks and the use of the homeroom, the plan saves trouble for administrators.

Development of the class in occupational information. It was inevitable, however, that some teacher or administrator should cut the tangled knot of the old curriculum and introduce a new study that would call a spade a spade. We have already seen that Hazen in 1836 prefaced his textbook *Panorama of Professions and Trades* with the statement that occupational information should be taught in the schools. Others made the same proposal.

William Alonzo Wheatley was apparently the person most concerned with the early development of classes in occupational information. As superintendent of schools in Fairfield, Connecticut, and later in both Fairfield and the adjoining town of Westport, he developed a profound conviction that formal education fails to appeal to a large number of pupils, especially boys. In the spring of 1908 he visited Superintendent Frank L. Mead of Westport, whom he was to succeed, and talked also with the principal of the Westport High School, George H. Boyden. To both of them he explained his desire to introduce a study of vocations at least for all boys, especially freshmen. Superintendent Mead was favorable to the plan and helped Wheatley to convince the school board that the new study was worth experimenting with. Boyden was friendly to the scheme and agreed to teach the class, which began in September, 1908.

The books used for this course were the ten-volume set of *Vocations*, edited by President William DeWitt Hyde of Bowdoin College, and various handbooks and bulletins on trades and other occupations published by the International Textbook Company. Some inspirational books also were used, particularly those of Marden, Bok, and Fowler.

The work seemed to prosper and Professor Charles H. Judd, then teaching at Yale University, visited the class and approved it. Clarence D. Kingsley, later a member of the commission that issued the "Cardinal Principles," also approved the work.

Realizing the need of better textual material, Superintendent Wheatley enlisted the aid of a man he knew well, Professor E. B. Gowin, then an instructor in economics at Wesleyan University,

Middletown, Connecticut. These two wrote the book *Occupations*; expressly for boys, which furthered the introduction of classes in occupations. This book was published in 1916, by Ginn and Company.¹

We have already noted the similar courses organized in Boston, and by 1912 Henrietta Rodman had developed a course in occupational information for girls in a New York City high school.

Using homeroom and other group meetings for occupational information. The school principal, desirous of doing something about guidance without disturbing the curriculum, often turns to the extracurricular agencies in the school. The homeroom is perennially useful for the teaching of "extras." Safety, "save our forests," school rules, ethics, how to study, educational opportunities ahead—why not vocational opportunities, too? Sometimes lesson plans were prepared and the work was supervised; usually not.

The trouble with the plan was that under it all or nearly all the teachers are asked to teach a kind of technical information for which most of them are unprepared. This trouble was early discovered in the uneven results obtained, but the desire not to disturb the old studies persisted.

For similar reasons other devices were frequently tried, when the movement for vocational guidance had become insistent. School officials who knew better than to teach geography by calling in noted travelers to talk to the pupils, invited employers, workers, and professional men to speak in the auditorium or to meet with small groups for talks followed by questions and answers. Elaborate series of conferences were arranged, with many callings represented; these were called "vocational days" or "weeks," and sometimes the co-operative spirit generated was valuable. But here we still have the telling method, which is poor teaching technique, and we have ex-

¹ Although the book contained considerable "big talk" it at least had useful exercises and was published in true textbook form. The books by Weaver and Byler antedated this textbook but were at first without exercises and apparently not designed specifically for classroom study. Both Wheatley and Gowin believed that classes in occupations should be separate for boys and girls, and it was expected that Mrs. Gowin would prepare a textbook for girls. When the publishers, in 1921, asked the present writer to revise the book, the first specification was that it should be designed for both boys and girls. That much had been discovered in the experimentation with classes in occupational information.

Under the encouragement of Meyer Bloomfield, two teachers of Newton, Mass., Mary A. Laselle and Katherine E. Wiley, had published an attractive book, *Vocations for Girls* (1913). An appendix contains questions on the several chapters in the manner of the Hazen book.

perts who at the least give biased stories. A Boston teacher (Edward A. Post) early tested the result by having his high-school composition class report immediately following the auditorium speeches of former boys now successful. Week after week he found the reports full of inaccuracies. And a statistician who had been asked in his talk to follow a prepared outline handled "disadvantages" with the remark that he did not know of any in his occupation.

It seems safe to conclude, in the matter of vocational information, that though existing facilities were seriously tried it was promptly discovered that a new agency was required: specific classes in the pupil's curriculum.

Development of the exploratory and tryout ideas. Meanwhile many persons interested in vocational guidance began to ask embarrassing questions about what was called manual training. A typical conference on the conversion of manual training into genuine exploratory and tryout experiences was held in Los Angeles in 1918. Present were representatives of the city manual training department and of the vocational education and vocational guidance departments. The issue under discussion was: Should manual training continue with its formal exercises unrelated to industrial life and largely confined to work with wood, or should it contribute directly to the discovery of abilities related to industrial tasks? The city director resisted the latter alternative. In reply to the suggestion of a more general objective for industrial arts he stated that in any classroom all the pupils must work on the same project—otherwise "things would be flying through the air." In one of these schools a teacher is known to have taught sawing by counting the strokes as the pupils sawed in unison!

Traditionally the position of this director was logical. Perhaps the only issue developed among the devotees of either the Russian or the Swedish "systems" was whether actual objects should be made or whether formal exercises with joints and the like should be the end of production. In either case, the "usefulness" of the work was specifically decried.²

In spite of the resistance on the part of the manual training specialists, George A. Merrill in 1895, as we have seen in Chapter 4,

² A transitional viewpoint was expressed by a woman teacher of sloyd in Boston a year or two later. The objects made, she stated, *were* useful in the homes of the pupils. She was adequately answered, however, by the remark that the coincidence was remarkable in that all the parents required wooden salad spoons at the same time.

adapted manual training for tryout purposes. Another interesting instance is that of Frank O. Kreager, in 1906 superintendent of schools in Olympia, Washington, who stated, as one of the aims, that "manual training keeps the boy in touch with industrial life and leaves him free at the end of his school days to choose the calling he is best fitted for."

During these years progressive schools everywhere, especially in the elementary grades, were gradually converting manual training into practical arts courses, preliminary to vocational education. Frederick G. Bonser of Teachers College, Columbia University, was one of the leading exponents of this wider view, and such progressive schools as the Francis Parker School of Chicago carried an extensive program of the arts. These progressive experiences, however, hardly arrived at the exploratory idea—the specific purpose of discovering vocational ability.³

The tryout idea is, of course, a very old one in athletics and also in debating. With the establishment of shops for industrial arts, the tryout idea has been widely extended and is often correlated with occupational information given in separate classes.

In 1910 M. Norcross Stratton, now Assistant Director of the Division of Vocational Education of the Massachusetts Department of Education, organized in a Springfield elementary school a plan of rotation among shops. The boys were given opportunities in printing, metal work, electrical work, woodworking, and cement work, and all work was on a practical productive work basis. Each boy was given an opportunity for experience in each shop during the seventh and eighth grades. He could elect one of these activities in the ninth grade. This group was segregated from the regular junior high school group and was given one-half time in shopwork and one-half in academics. Many of the boys went to a trade school, some to a technical high school, and a few to the regular high school.

In 1914 James S. Hiatt, Secretary of the Public Education Association of Philadelphia, in an article in *The Industrial Arts Magazine* (April, 1914), advocated a kind of prevocational experience through "samples of industry"—such a plan of guidance "as will make a definite, reasonable choice of a life career not only possible but probable, such a choice as will show the youth the necessity for future training if he expects to climb the ladder to success."

³ President Eliot seems to have delayed this good development through his persistent advocacy of manual arts for the purpose of "training the senses"!

The general shop appears. Apparently it was Rochester, New York, that first definitely put the industrial samples into one shop under the auspices of a versatile teacher. At any rate we find such a shop at the Washington Junior High School in 1915. James M. Glass was the principal. For four years this was Rochester's only school of the kind, and the shop was one of its more attractive and popular features. One room contained samples of woodworking, metalworking, electricity, painting, elementary machine-shop practice, and general craftsmanship. During the first year or two this room was known as the Applied Science Shop, but General Shop was soon adopted as its designation. Alfred P. Fletcher, the assistant superintendent in charge of vocational education, was the man who engineered the general shop plan.

A typical good plan was developed a year or two later in the Latimer Junior High School of Pittsburgh.⁴ Besides the general shop for seventh-grade boys, there was rotation among specialized shops in the eighth grade, and opportunity for a specialized year in the ninth.

Exploratory work in the commercial field. The same school in Rochester likewise seems to have had the distinction of organiz-

⁴Its teacher, Wallace MacMaster, writes us as follows: "The General Shop dates back to 1915 at the East Street School in Pittsburgh. Louis B. Hull, principal, was very sympathetic to new ideas. We were conducting manual training along the old traditional lines. My first break from the regular manual training was the building of a model community center which involved the making and laying of small bricks, the use of tin for valleys, gutters and spouting, threading of pipe through which the electric wires were pulled, the making of fixtures, placing glass in the windows, and cutting and placing slate on the roof. To this was added a small hand printing press and shoe repairing outfit, together with the making of model airplanes. This involved a number of occupations. I had done a number of different types of mechanical work before entering the teaching profession in Pittsburgh, and this work was of great value to me in teaching General Shop.

"When the Principal was transferred to other schools, I followed him. We came together once more at the Latimer Junior High School in 1919 and it was at that school the shop received its very dignified name of the General Shop. This shop contained bench woodwork, wood turning, electric wiring, sheet metal, machine shop, bench and lathe, heat treating, and printing. These activities were carried on simultaneously. The size of each group depended on the size of the class enrolled. The class was divided and directed in each activity. Each group was rotated so that every student had an opportunity to work at the various activities offered."

Trends in Industrial Arts, by Maris M. Proffitt, issued in 1940 by the U. S. Office of Education, indicates the extent and stability of the general shop. It must be admitted, however, that in many cases the general shops, like the manual training shops they displaced, are used merely as the dumping place for boys who do not thrive in the all-academic program, with little effort to utilize the work for guidance purposes.

ing exploratory experiences in clerical occupations. In 1915 Frederick G. Nichols, now a professor at Harvard University, had discovered that the first jobs in business were decidedly not in bookkeeping and stenography, which at that time were the two standbys of the commercial curriculum. Consequently, as director of commercial education, he persuaded the newly organized Washington Junior High School, more easily influenced than the senior school, to try a course called First Lessons in Business. This course included such sampling experiences as handling business forms and papers, using communication facilities, handling goods and money, carrying on business interviews, and the like.

Three years later Nichols undertook an investigation for the Federal Board for Vocational Education at Washington, and proposed a course that he called Junior Business Training.

Work of this kind has had a rapid extension, both as a means of discovering and testing interests and abilities and as a vestibule to the commercial curriculum. Moreover similar work of progressive difficulty has been used within this curriculum for the differentiation of pupils among the several fields in commerce, such as general and specialized clerical callings, bookkeeping, stenography, and sales work.

Other sampling opportunities. For girls the offerings in home economics were greatly widened during this first decade of vocational guidance (1908-1918): home repairs, home decoration, house planning, simple nursing, etc. Home Mechanics became a popular course in Michigan, both for boys and for girls.

Four-H clubs, first organized in 1914, and the home project plan of Rufus Stimson both furnished pretraining, exploratory, and tryout experiences in agriculture—all calculated to aid in discovery of interest and ability, leading to vocational decision.

Student activities likewise were early recognized as furnishing a fruitful source of experience leading to exploration and tryout: debating, student government, school journalism, clubs for art and music, etc., etc. Thus exploratory experiences for professional vocations have long been provided through library work, student bookstores, athletics, assistance to teachers, and the like. Moreover summer experiences have been utilized for similar purposes.

Best of all, perhaps, the half-time plan, particularly if on the liberal arts level as at Antioch College, has furnished an excellent form of exploratory and tryout experience.

Further development of the concept of personnel.⁵ The movement for training employment managers began soon after the organization of the Boston Employment Managers' Association (see Chapter 6). Then came the experience of the war and the word "personnel" was appropriated from the army and thereafter used almost universally in industry, somewhat in commerce, and extensively in colleges. The first personnel manager or director of personnel was, of course, the first sergeant of a military company. He was concerned, in co-operation with the adjutant and the quartermaster, with housing, feeding, clothing, classifying, assigning, drilling, educating, and disciplining his men.

The colleges likewise had much responsibility for housing, health, social affairs, and other matters not directly connected with instruction, and the deans of men and deans of women, now occasionally called directors of personnel, had for some time assumed such duties. This is not the place to go into the history of the work of the deans of students, but the fact is to be recorded that when vocational guidance appeared many deans undertook the work. At the present writing there is still some disagreement on the use of the words "guidance" and "personnel."

Testing during the war. During the last great drive of the German army in March, 1918, General Pershing cabled to America for one hundred and twenty-five electric crane operators. A notice was posted in the cantonments and a sufficient number of men volunteered for the work. They were sent to France, where it was found that only about one out of five could operate an electric crane. Meanwhile the Committee on Classification of Personnel was rapidly developing a plan for vocational selection by which such hazards would be removed. A manual for testing vocational ability had been developed by the end of the war, and fitness for two- or threescore occupations important in military service was discoverable by means of oral tests, picture tests, and performance exercises (see Chapter 15). Classification into four ratings was obtained: novices, apprentices, journeymen, and experts. Although this work is related to vocational

⁵ A reply in 1938 from the Chief of the Historical Service of the French Army informs us that the word *matériel* was first used in the army in 1750, and that *personnel* came into use in contrast to *matériel* about 1793. We quote: "Personnel, strictly speaking, should refer only to individuals and matters pertaining to their military and civil rank and positions, but administratively and on about the same date as mentioned above 'personnel' was associated with matters concerning the soldiers' pay and the movement of men, in contrast to those matters which concerned munitions and materials necessary for carrying on a war."

selection rather than to vocational guidance—that is, it is concerned with selecting people for jobs and not jobs for people—its techniques are useful to the counselors.

Previous to this work in the actual vocational field the Army Alpha test had been developed, by which a hierarchy of mental ability had been established, with farm laborers and tailors near the bottom, and engineers, clergymen, and physicians near the top. It was also shown, however, that the overlapping of intellectual ability is enormous.

A third early development was the rating system developed in the army, first by means of comparisons of fellow officers and later by more nearly impersonal descriptions. The Army Alpha tests and the rating systems were particularly useful in selecting prospective officers. In Chapter 15 we shall discuss further the contribution by psychologists.

Placement as a part of vocational guidance. We have already noted (see Chapter 1) that although placement began long before vocational guidance it did not develop the function of aiding students in choosing their careers. The guilds of medieval times were, of course, concerned with a kind of placement or at least with selection for apprenticeship, and employment offices both public and private flourished long before vocational guidance was systematically begun. Our Appendix summarizes these early developments.

The development of teacher placement seems to have led the way for educational institutions. Robert J. Leonard, in an address before the Association of Appointment Secretaries at Cincinnati (1925), stated that teachers in the charity schools of England in the eighteenth century placed their students in certain positions and replaced them in others until they found teaching work suitable for them. G. G. Ord, Secretary of the Appointments Board at Oxford University, was carrying on work for teacher placement in 1895. Dean Byron S. Hurlburt, then a member of the Department of English at Harvard University, carried on work in teacher placement beginning in 1897. The office at the University of California was organized January 1, 1898, and was the second such agency in the United States.

The alumni placement agencies, now almost universal in colleges and universities, as well as the agencies for part-time work, were an outgrowth of the teacher placement facilities, and of course at the present writing are in many cases actively concerned with vocational guidance.

Yet it seems safe to say that before the time of Parsons all these agencies, perhaps because of pressure of work and inadequate personnel, were concerned with little more than with "placing the product" after it was already trained, and seldom or never tried to reach back to the source and aid in the selection of the calling. After Parsons, however, many such agencies became actively concerned with vocational choice and counseling therefor. Placement has meanwhile been added almost universally to city plans for vocational guidance.

The follow-up function. Another invention of the movement for vocational guidance was the following up of graduates and other school-leavers for purposes of supervising their early employment experience. Of course early apprenticeship plans provided for supervision by employers, and in the first years of the 1900's socially-minded persons in Scotland and England inaugurated their plan of "after care." But of late years, in the United States particularly, the school systems active in vocational guidance have regularly followed their pupils into employment. We are unable to state what city first began this work; these among others are well known for the work at this writing: Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Providence, and Cincinnati. Follow-up is often used for research as well, and thence to improve guidance and instruction.

Summary of the facilities for effecting vocational guidance. Experience plus careful thought during three decades of this movement have taught some striking lessons, as follows:

Counseling by parents, pastors, school administrators, subject teachers, homeroom teachers, deans, and others was found inadequate to the technical and humane needs of vocational guidance. Hence there had to be developed a new sort of educational worker:

1. Educational and vocational counselors, prepared and engaged for this work.

The dissemination of vocational information through the usual academic subjects, whether English, civics, or any other, while helpful in certain instances, proved relatively ineffective. Likewise such dissemination through assembly talks, homeroom meetings, and other group meetings, proved less effective than a school and college subject new to the educational world:

2. The class in occupational information.

Manual training, whether Swedish or Russian, gave little scope for necessary exploration of interests and abilities in industry. Consequently

it had to be abandoned or transformed into a plan for sampling several kinds of industrial work. Hence was devised:

3. The general shop, a room devoted to diversified practical arts in the field of industry, for developing versatility in elementary skills and for exploring and trying out interests and abilities.

The commercial curriculum, scrutinized in the light of the first few years of vocational guidance effort, possessed no "front porch" and no "vestibule." Misfits and failure were all too common. Therefore a class was organized, called:

4. Junior business, or introductory business exercises, likewise to offer versatile "marketable skills" on the office-boy level, to guide into or away from the commercial curriculum, and to guide in the selection of the commercial or clerical specialization.
5. Student activities, long neglected as educational opportunities, began to be used for the discovery of vocational abilities.
6. Personnel management, both in the vocational situation and in education, was developed to assist in the work of guidance.
7. Tests, rating systems, questionnaires, and records were all improved and applied to the problem of guidance.
8. Placement, used long before 1908, was improved in various ways, especially by the use of records obtained from preceding guidance.
9. Follow-up for employment supervision and research was one of the earliest used agencies in plans for vocational guidance.

Extent of the use of these tools. Every one of these nine sorts of agencies has been either newly made since 1908 or vastly changed since that time—changed so that it might be used for vocational guidance. Not one of the first four existed by name or entity; none of the next three, with the possible exception of student activities and records, bears any resemblance now to its earlier expression. Placement is nearest like its former shape.

The growth in counseling (the first tool) is still in its first stages. A recent report, *Public Schools Having Counselors and Guidance Officers*, issued in 1939 by the newly organized Occupational Information and Guidance Service of the United States Office of Education, takes note of 2,286 counselors giving at least half time to that work. These serve in 1297 schools in 702 cities and towns in 46 states. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, and California each report more than 100; the first-named 404. This is at least a respectable beginning.

The growth and present extent of the three next tools may be

estimated from the figures of another pamphlet from the Office of Education (1938), *Offerings and Registrations in High School Subjects, 1933-1934*. About 22,000 schools reported, with an enrollment of over five million. In subjects related to vocational guidance the approximate figures are as follows:

	<i>Grades 7-8</i>	<i>Grades 9-12</i>	<i>Total</i>
Occupations.....	57,800	135,000	192,800
General shop.....	42,500	54,600	97,100
Elementary business.....	69,400	275,300	344,700

In addition to the above a small enrollment is given for home mechanics, and a very large one (total 491,000) for industrial arts, which is doubtless much more diversified than traditional woodwork.

By comparing these enrollments for that in ninth-grade English, universally required, it is possible to estimate roughly as follows: the class in occupational information is reaching about 30 per cent of secondary school pupils, the general shop about 20 per cent, and elementary business about 35 per cent.

The extent of use of the other agencies or tools we have no means of estimating; reports in educational literature give evidence of their widespread employment.

Where are these agencies used? At strategic places in the educational and vocational career of the young person, these tools are brought into use. The selection of these places depends upon the decisions—"forks in the road"—immediately before the individual. Thus elementary or junior business is a useful tool just before decision is to be made among academic, commercial, and industrial curriculums, and again just inside the commercial curriculum, in the latter case to help select among the stenographic, bookkeeping, general clerical, and sales occupations. Similarly the general shop is often used on two secondary school levels, and the class in occupations likewise.⁶ The colleges too, about eighty-five of them, are reported as offering classes in occupations.

Other tools such as counseling, student activities, personnel care, tests, and the like are ubiquitous in the educational scene; often required and always available. Placement naturally is a service to be used after school or college has been left behind, except for the part-time plans. It would seem well for the greater effectiveness of all the tools of guidance if such part-time plans should greatly increase.

Alertness in the use of still newer tools and methods. Besides

⁶ The writer has attempted a diagram of some of these "forks" on page 184 of *Education as Guidance*.

the aforesaid adaptations and newer classes, workers in vocational guidance have been found in the vanguard in the use of new methods as they appeared. Workbooks, workshop methods, dramatic scenes, rotating plan of occupational study, visits to industries, staged interviews, case methods, public address system, radio, motion pictures—these and many other methods were widely tried out. We shall speak briefly about the last two.

As early as the 1922 convention the officers of the National Vocational Guidance Association made their "appearance" on the air. And with the development of interest in occupational information regular broadcasting began. A committee of the Association appointed in 1932 sponsored and conducted these events.⁷ In 1934 the American School of the Air, maintained by the Columbia Broadcasting System, installed vocational guidance as one item in their curriculum and presented weekly programs over a period of years. As chairman of the committee Kitson supervised the writing of the scripts, which were paid for by the National Occupational Conference.

Soon radio stations throughout the country began to give much attention to occupational problems. Programs were sponsored by Kiwanis and other organizations, by state employment services, and by school systems owning radios or possessing radio time. "On Your Job" is a nation-wide program by the National Broadcasting Company, given by Kitson and others each Sunday. In 1939 forty vocational guidance programs were being regularly conducted. In a number of cases scripts are available to teachers in advance, the program is given in school time as a part of classes in occupations, and classroom discussion follows. Doubtless the recent tendency to reproduce radio material on records will facilitate instructional use.

Similar progress has been made in the use of motion pictures. With the convenient lease system and the growing number of films available, both silent and sound, young people can be given a realistic view of workers at work. The magazine *Occupations* publishes a bimonthly listing of films available for classroom use.

It is true that evaluation of these newer devices is difficult. Too often they have been used as a substitute for cerebration, and hours of auditorium time have been wasted in viewing interesting pictures or listening to lectures which meant little or nothing so far as the

⁷ We are indebted to Harry D. Kitson for much of this information, and he has filed a volume of scripts in our historical collection. See reports and sample broadcasts in *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, March 1934, March and May 1935, February 1937. Also Mildred E. Lincoln, *Teaching about Vocational Life*, 1936, Chap. 8.

vocational guidance of the pupils was concerned. Yet if these tools can do the work the time saved will be enormous. Further experiment is urgently required, with attendant research as to values. And it is certain that as newer tools, methods, and devices seem promising they will be tried out for vocational guidance, and will be regularly adopted if they prove themselves valuable.

A Professional Association Is Organized

TO SOME, vocational guidance means placement, to others classes in occupational information, perhaps to others counseling. Vocational guidance means all of these and more. It suggests, too, the national association of co-workers, which has been developing for over thirty years. The history and development of the National Vocational Guidance Association may be traced through its national conventions; social workers, businessmen, and educators attended the early gatherings, which met for the purpose of unifying the attempts to practice and spread vocational guidance. The conventions have been characterized both by enthusiasm and by seriousness of purpose. Much of interest and significance today may be learned from accounts of the gatherings of the pioneer workers for organization and inspiration, and for the search for better ways and means to guide youth.

The first national conference. In March, 1910, upon the suggestion of David Snedden, then Commissioner of Education for Massachusetts, that, "an annual conference to tie up the various interests undertaking vocational guidance might be wise," the first national convention of vocational guidance met in Boston. Dr. Snedden, Frank Thompson of the Boston schools, and Meyer Bloomfield, Director of the Vocation Bureau of Boston, served as a committee to co-operate with the Boston Chamber of Commerce in arranging for the conference. The meetings were held at the offices of the Chamber and at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, then near Copley Square, Boston. At these gatherings of delegates from thirty-five cities the emphasis was upon the need for vocational guidance within the school, especially for the group of children who were leaving school between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, and for studying the occupations they were about to enter.

Bernard J. Rothwell, President of the Chamber of Commerce, opened the first meeting by expressing the businessman's interest in the conservation of youth's energies by expert vocational counseling at the critical period before boys and girls leave school for work, and then introduced Professor Paul H. Hanus of Harvard University, chairman of the Executive Board of the Vocation Bureau, to preside at the first session. Professor Hanus said, "This movement has nothing to do with phrenology or psychology, but

deals with its problems in a practical, common-sense way." He warned against "prescribing" vocations and curtailing the child's privilege to enjoy the most liberal opportunities for growth and happiness that the schools can provide. He felt it had become necessary to face the future problems of the boys and girls who must leave school at fourteen, and to make demands upon commerce and industry for a better investment of youth's powers in the field of wage earning.

The Hon. John F. Fitzgerald, Mayor of Boston, pointed out that the vocational guidance movement would make education definite and practical, especially for those whose working life begins at fourteen or fifteen. His comment on the movement follows:

On the whole, the movement is sound because it turns thoughts of educators toward the critical age and toward the needs of the great majority of the pupils; because it strives to make the passage from the schoolroom to life an easy and a natural one; because it tends to impress on all children the dignity of useful work; because once more, it studies the special aptitudes of individuals, the needs of the community, and the advantages of society.

President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University reminded the audience that Americans were coming to the problem late, sixty years behind Germany. He stated that "the elements of many trades should be brought into the elementary schools—not to train for a particular calling, but to train and develop the mind in a broader sense. . . . Vocational guidance must be developed on a large scale."

Meyer Bloomfield, Director of the Vocation Bureau of Boston, addressed the second session, stressing the fact that, although the school teacher has an opportunity to know the child, she is too busy to investigate industries and professions for information on which to base vocational guidance, and that the vocational guidance movement had come to act as a co-operating, co-ordinating agency in order that the child might have adequate help in the choice of his life work. Of choice of occupation by the child of fourteen he said:

We do violence to language when we speak of "choice" of an occupation by children fourteen years of age. There is no such thing as "choice" with most of them; they are, in the words of Charles Booth, "pitchforked into the working world."

Of the counselor, who is to suggest alternatives to the child, he said:

The vocational counselor has no business with any bias. He has no

business to lean over in any direction. His business is to deal with facts, to apply them judiciously, and yet with the tenderest sympathy. He must deal with facts and their application, and the child and the parents must weigh the consequences. Information furnished by experts is the foundation stone.

In his address Professor Felix Adler, leader of the Ethical Culture Society of New York, stated that he would have the system of high schools reconstructed on the "vocational principle," and that there should be sufficient instruction in high schools and colleges to enable every student to know something about the different vocations and the qualifications necessary for them. He continued:

We should give instructions in regard to the vocations by lectures; but a lecture once a month will not do for that is mere surface work. To do this work it must occupy a large part in the course. It is one of the greatest subjects to be taught in colleges.

Speaking of vocational guidance in England, the chairman of the third session, Charles E. Richards, Director of Cooper Union, told of the children's employment committee, developed by Liverpool, which had been active the preceding year. Teachers had felt that effective placement of boys between fourteen and eighteen required a knowledge of each boy beyond what an outside agency could achieve.

Accounts of vocational guidance already in effect in schools were given by Superintendent Stratton D. Brooks of Boston, by Eli W. Weaver of Brooklyn, and by Jesse B. Davis of Grand Rapids, Michigan.¹ Dr. Brooks explained that the introduction of separate vocational schools had brought upon the American people a new and serious problem, the necessity of an early choice of a vocation. He said in part:

The fault of the school of the past was not that it emphasized the intellectual, but that it did so for *all* pupils. Let us not reverse this error in the future by allowing the school to emphasize the mechanical for *all* pupils, but rather, by wise vocational direction, endeavor to have each boy select the education that will secure for him the happiest and most useful life.

He pointed out that the vocational adviser must know business, but that he has a greater need to know boys and that much scientific

¹ Dr. Davis, now Dean of the Boston University School of Education, was ruled out of order at first when he began to tell of using English classes for guidance. Apparently few had envisioned the possibilities through curriculum studies.

investigation must be made before advice could be substantial and reliable. Because the parent is too near the life of the child and the psychological expert too far from him, he thought the teacher, as a counselor who can furnish ideals, incentives, and direction, to be a most effective adviser.

A representative of the Girls' Trade Education League of Boston told briefly of a plan for studying industries open to girls. One paper was on vocational guidance for the handicapped. Another speaker, Frederick P. Fish, Chairman of the Massachusetts Board of Education, added that vocational guidance appealed to him especially because, in his words, "it is almost the first effort that has been brought to my attention to get through the barriers of organization, to get away from dealing with the children merely as groups and to get at them individually." Robert A. Woods of the South End House of Boston advocated cultivating in modern industry the play spirit of the child. Owen R. Lovejoy, Executive Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, said, "It is not true that the children are unfit; the industries are unfit for the children." Henrietta Rodman, of the Wadleigh High School, New York, referred to the widespread feeling of responsibility for the conservation of the natural powers of the younger generation. Both President Richard C. MacLaurin of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Dr. Snedden saw vocational guidance as of "inestimable value" in showing what is needed in vocational schools.

After reminding his listeners that for success in guiding the young worker into the field of endeavor where his labor will yield the greatest return in economic and social service and in personal satisfaction there must be co-operation with all interested agencies, professor Frank M. Leavitt of the University of Chicago, who gave the last address at the conference, pointed out that the greatest need in adapting education to the requirements of economic conditions of today was that of providing opportunity to learn and earn at the same time. Of the three prime factors in education—study, play, and work—he said that far better provision had been made for the first two than for the third. His concluding remark follows:

I would therefore urge that this conference exert its influence not only toward the establishment of vocational bureaus, but as well toward the development of vocational guidance within the schools themselves. I especially plead that the schools of tomorrow shall furnish a richer and more varied background of vocational experience for those who now leave school early to enter the lower grades of industrial work.

An Honorary Conference Committee was appointed, which included Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, G. Stanley Hall, Jane Addams, and other well-known educators and professional people.

The New York conference of 1912. The second national conference, organized by the Central Committee on Vocational Guidance of New York City with the assistance of a national committee, met in New York, October 23-26, 1912. An organization committee of five, consisting of Mrs. Bryant B. Glenny, Arthur D. Dean, Jesse B. Davis, Meyer Bloomfield, and Benjamin Gruenberg, was appointed to consider the possibility of effecting a national organization to further the interests of vocational guidance. At the business session on the closing day of the conference the committee reported that the formation of a national society along the usual formal lines was not desirable. The organization committee was then enlarged by the addition of M. Edith Campbell, Eli W. Weaver, and J. G. Olmstead, and the committee was empowered to propose a plan of organization and to call the next conference. This enlarged group later selected a smaller committee, which met a few months later in Philadelphia, arranged the succeeding convention, and drew up a plan of organization; this comprised Professor Leavitt, Miss Campbell, James S. Hiatt, Meyer Bloomfield, and Alice P. Barrows.

There were some forty speakers at the conference. Progress in the movement was indicated in the increased attention given to reports of actual guidance work, as W. Carson Ryan, Jr., has pointed out.² As before, the conference concerned itself especially with the welfare of the child leaving school when between fourteen and sixteen years of age. It was reported that 132,000 children in New York City were at work, largely in unskilled jobs. Helen T. Woolley of Cincinnati explained that every investigation of economic need among families of working children, except the one in the stockyards district of Chicago, had shown that three-fourths or more of the families did not need the earnings of the children. Scholarships for the amount a child could earn—usually \$2.50 to \$4.00 a week—were given in some cases to keep the child in school. She suggested a different type of education, with emphasis upon work with the hands

² U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, No. 24 (1918), p. 28. Dr. Ryan was secretary of the National Association, 1915-18. At this meeting it was proposed that the association to be formed be sponsored by Teachers College of Columbia University, which also was to publish the proceedings. There was objection to sponsorship by any one institution, however, and the organization committee so reported. The secretary of the conference, Dr. Gruenberg, published the proceedings, largely at his own expense.

for all children. Of the valuable outcomes of such a plan, including wider tryout experiences, she said:

Not only may the teaching of the common branches be vitalized by this method, but the problem of vocational guidance would solve itself in the best possible way. Each child could decide his future on the basis of a wide opportunity to try his powers in many different directions, instead of being limited to the academic type of effort now thrust upon him.

Other techniques of vocational guidance found a place in the thought of the conference. Professor Frederick G. Bonser of Teachers College, Columbia University, stated that in the school for demonstration purposes connected with Teachers College all attention possible was being paid, from kindergarten on, to finding out through regular school subjects the aptitudes and limitations of each child. Dr. Woolley recommended cumulative records to follow each child through school. Jesse B. Davis again told of his four-year plan for educational and vocational guidance through the English classes. Mrs. Bryant B. Glenny of the Women's Municipal League of Boston told of the handbook of opportunities for vocational training in Boston (issued the following year). The League published a number of large charts showing educational and employment opportunities open to the young.

The rapid change of employees in industry was mentioned and deplored at three different sessions of the conference. In his summary of the first session, Frank V. Thompson, Associate Superintendent of Schools of Boston, spoke as follows:

I was amazed recently in talking with some of the employers of the big department stores to learn their figures regarding employees. To "turn over" one or more times a year a number equalling the whole force, sometimes a thousand employees, shows what a wasteful system prevails.

The following afternoon Edward L. Stevens, Associate Superintendent of Schools in New York, spoke of employment difficulties from the viewpoints of employer and employee:

It is difficult for the child to secure an opportunity to work; it is difficult indeed for the employer to find the child or the girl or the boy who needs to work or wants to work for him, and is properly fitted to do it. I remember a manufacturer of clothing telling me that he employed twelve hundred girls a year, yet at no time did his payroll carry the names of more than 350. A contractor in speaking of the labor of young

men said that there were months in which he had employed as many as sixty young men to work, but at no time were there more than eighteen of them at work at the same time.

Lincoln Filene of Boston commented on the waste due to wrong selection as marking the difference between the possibility of a fair minimum wage and an underwage. He said that one of the largest and most successful industrial plants in the country changes workers four times a year. Such conditions as these made those present realize the necessity for adequate vocational guidance.

Placement work of the Alliance Employment Bureau was presented; Eli W. Weaver, who was chairman of the New York High School Teachers' Association, described the experience of his committee in trying to reach employers. Reports of work in Chicago, Cleveland, and Cincinnati were given. At other meetings vocational analyses and follow-up work were discussed.

There was a notable spirit of co-operation among the agencies represented at the conference: businessmen remarked that they must co-operate with the schools, and schoolmen said that they must know more about industry. A social worker explained how to make a survey. Frances Perkins, then Executive Secretary of the Consumers' League (1910-12) and lecturer on sociology at Adelphi College, later (1912-17) Executive Secretary of the Committee on Safety, and in 1933 appointed United States Secretary of Labor, in her summary of the session on occupations emphasized the need for studying the human factor in industry.

The National Vocational Guidance Association is organized. At the third national conference, known as the organization meeting, which met with the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education at Grand Rapids from October 21 to 24, 1913, the organization of the National Vocational Guidance Association was completed. The report of the organization committee was accepted, a provisional constitution was adopted, and officers for the following year were elected.

In the opening address Professor Frank M. Leavitt of the University of Chicago, chairman of the organization committee, explained that the new association had been formed after "a careful study of the situation had disclosed the fact that no existing organization is in a position to do the work to which the association proposes to address itself; a work, furthermore, which should be undertaken immediately." He explained the threefold demand for guidance:

economic—our industrial system needs a better and more efficiently chosen body of employees; educational—courses of study are too often adopted because of tradition and too seldom with a clearly defined purpose; even for the more advanced student education is frequently “misdirected, inappropriate, and unapplied”; and social—for the preservation of society. He stated further that the association had been organized to help co-ordinate the results, if not the efforts, of Chambers of Commerce and employers’ associations, of educational systems, and of charitable and philanthropic societies in organizing better vocational guidance and supervision for the youth of the land. The possibility of working through subcommittees of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education and of the committee on vocational education of the National Education Association had been thoroughly discussed. It was felt that more immediate progress could be made by a separate organization for one purpose, than by subcommittees of these large organizations. The new association hoped to co-operate with these and other strong organizations.

The officers chosen for 1914 were: President, Frank M. Leavitt; Vice-President, Alice P. Barrows; Secretary, Jesse B. Davis; Treasurer, James S. Hiatt; and an executive council of five (see Appendix). The proceedings were published by the United States Bureau of Education in Bulletin No. 14 (1914).

The first group of papers was on the larger social, economic, and educational bearings of vocational guidance. These facts and ideas were presented: over 90 per cent of the children leaving school between the ages of fourteen and sixteen go into blind-alley occupations (of 101 boys in a vocational survey in New York City 5 were in jobs with opportunity to advance or improve; 96 were in dead-end occupations); there must be studies in occupations so that the children can be taught; the schools must give up their medieval position—vocational guidance means testing the training of the child; vocational guidance must be a dominant standpoint in school organization; the curriculum must be shot through and through with the meaning, history, and possibilities of vocation; “in vocational guidance the school finds its supreme task as the conscious educational institution of a democracy.”

At other sessions papers were presented on lessons from Europe, psychological testing, training for vocational counseling, continuation schools in Cincinnati, and the study of industries. The addresses covered a wider scope than did those of the previous convention or

those of the next half dozen annual conventions, and conveyed an inspiration and enthusiasm not equaled until 1920 when the reorganization with the plan of branch associations was effected.

Permanent constitution adopted. At Richmond, Virginia, December 7 to 9, 1914, was held the second annual meeting of the National Vocational Guidance Association and the fourth national conference. Richmond was having its fifteen-thousand-dollar survey of industrial and educational conditions and opportunities for youth, and of the needs of children, which was financed by the Russell Sage Foundation, the United States Bureau of Labor, the United States Bureau of Education, the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, and the City of Richmond.

At this second annual meeting a permanent constitution was adopted. Article II, Purposes, reads as follows:

The necessity under our modern complex conditions of leading the child to discover his possibilities and of affording him opportunities for exercising them in those industries or professions in which his capacities may find the fullest and most effective expression leads to the formation of this Association. Its object shall be to engage every agency that has to do with the education or employment of young people in a cooperative attempt to realize this purpose.

This Association will attempt to give a stronger and more general impulse and more systematic direction to the study and practice of Vocational Guidance than has heretofore been given; to establish a center or centers for the distribution of information concerning the study and practice of Vocational Guidance; and to enlist the public schools in the practice of Vocational Guidance as a part of the task of education.

The officers elected are shown in the Appendix.

In the *Proceedings* the papers at the conference were grouped under three headings: practical phases of vocational guidance, vocational guidance in the public school system, and vocational guidance and social welfare. One paper spoke of our isolated and unrelated school attendance laws and child labor rulings, and advocated correlating them with vocational guidance. Another, on "Vocational Guidance, a Function of the University," proposed a complete guidance program in five steps, through placement.

Conventions at Oakland and at Detroit. The topics at the next annual conference (not an official convention), held in Oakland, California, August 17 and 18, 1915, included vocational guidance in grammar and high schools, vocational guidance and the library, services available in the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., occupational

surveys, and contributions to the problem made by sociology, psychology (paper given by Professor Lewis M. Terman), and medicine.

President Jesse B. Davis in his opening address called attention to the fact that for the first time in the history of the movement the organization of vocational guidance workers was meeting as an independent entity, detached from any other organization.

The Detroit convention of the following year (1916), met February 21 and 22 in connection with the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association. The sessions were on vocational guidance and the public schools, vocational analysis, and the organization of the movement. The report of the secretary, W. Carson Ryan, Jr., showed that the association had increased its membership by eighty-one during the year to a total of four hundred and four, an increase which had come almost entirely without solicitation, and that the secretary's work during the year had consisted largely of collecting and disseminating information about vocational guidance. This included publishing the proceedings of the Richmond meeting and, beginning in April, 1915, nine issues of the *Vocational Guidance Bulletin* (one thousand copies of each issue) and distributing both to all members of the association.

The Philadelphia convention. Probably no previous annual meeting of the association was preceded by a greater variety of preliminary support and interest than the one held in Philadelphia on April 3 and 4, 1917, in conjunction with the Employment Managers' Conference.

One of the most important features anticipated by those attending the convention was a report on the vocational guidance survey of Philadelphia which was being made under the direction of Associate Superintendent J. C. Frazee. The results of the survey constituted the program for the second session of the conference under the topic, Vocational Guidance and Employment Supervision. It was said that much direct guidance, placement, and employment supervision, though not under that name of vocational guidance, was being done in Philadelphia. The first session was devoted to accounts of vocational guidance work in New York City, Brooklyn (under the Vocational Guidance Association of Brooklyn), Cleveland, Kansas City, and Newark.

At the third and last regular session a paper by Ryan pointed out the geographical distribution of vocational guidance work, its increasing definiteness due to a rapidly developing literature, and its influence on education. Bloomfield contrasted early struggles with

the present interest in the work. Papers on recent psychological experiments and "City Streets and How They Guide Children" were presented. The *Bulletin* states that the paper on the life-career class as a point of departure in vocational guidance struck a new and interesting note. The discussion aroused by this paper, which expressed a difference of opinion on types of psychological analysis, was so long that a round table of forty or fifty persons was formed for an evening gathering, which "discussed current theories of placement and personal guidance until a late hour."

One resolution adopted at the business meeting is quoted below.

RESOLVED: That the National Vocational Guidance Association, composed of men and women concerned with the effective distribution of labor and service resources, offers to the Council of National Defense to cooperate in the development of plans for the best assignment of work and training for young people.

Other resolutions authorized the secretary to take necessary steps to enter the *Bulletin* at the post office as second class matter, provided for the creation of a new traveling vocational guidance exhibit, and authorized appointing a committee to arrange more direct methods of affiliation between the association and state and local organizations interested in vocational guidance.

The business meeting, left till the last session, was attended by such a large group of people of doubtful standing as members that the chairman, Meyer Bloomfield, ruled that the same officers would hold over another year.

The war convention. The 1918 Atlantic City national convention, held on February 26 under the joint auspices of the Bureau of Education and the National Vocational Guidance Association, with Arthur D. Dean of Columbia University presiding, was a morning conference on war problems in vocational adjustment, attended by two or three hundred persons. President Bloomfield pointed out the necessity for schools and other agencies to prepare young men for work in shipyards; Walter V. Bingham spoke on the Army's plan of occupational selection; other topics were the Boys' Working Reserve, the re-education of soldiers, and vocation bureaus in war time. In the business meeting President David Snedden of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education described the re-organization of that society and suggested more definite co-operation or affiliation between the two associations, but no action was taken.

At St. Louis in 1919. The 1919 annual meeting was held in St.

Louis, Missouri, the afternoon and evening of February 19. Like the conferences of 1915, 1916, and 1917, it was devoted largely to reports of actual guidance practice. An address was given on vocational guidance in colleges and normal schools; Susan J. Ginn spoke on recent accomplishments in Boston; Helen T. Woolley, on the work of the Cincinnati Bureau of Vocational Guidance; Anne Davis, on work in Chicago; and I. David Cohen, on vocational guidance in New York City.

In spite of the interest manifested at this convention a break in the association occurred here, probably because most of the national officers did not attend at St. Louis and no new officers were elected.³

Reorganization of the association. 1920 marks a turning point in the history of the movement. During the winter of 1919-20 a conference of about fifty people met in New York City, largely through the initiative of Katherine F. Ball, Dean of Women, University of Minnesota, to reorganize the national workers in vocational guidance. John M. Brewer, who had been appointed secretary of the national organization at the request of Roy W. Kelly, whom he succeeded at Harvard, was chairman of the meeting and Miss Ball secretary. According to a manuscript report of this conference "a statement on the principles of vocational guidance was adopted, and the 'National Vocational Guidance Society of the United States' was proposed." The purpose of the meeting was stated thus:

1. To get a consensus of opinion on certain outstanding problems of vocational guidance to the end that a tentative program be adopted for presentation at the vocational guidance sessions to be held in connection with the joint meetings of the National Society for Vocational Education and the Vocational Education Association of the Middle West on February 19 and 20.
2. To organize a new national vocational guidance organization which should take the place of the National Vocational Guidance Association.

A statement of principles was adopted under these headings: (1) a definition of the purpose of vocational guidance: "The purpose

³ When I returned to Harvard University in September, 1919, after two years in Los Angeles, Secretary Kelly, whom I succeeded, gave me the secretary's records and advised me to see the president, Superintendent Thompson of Boston. The latter, however, seemed to think that the association was extinct beyond recall. Soon after this conversation Katherine F. Ball wrote to me urging a reorganization of the association. She and I both wrote to interested persons in New York City and its vicinity, and the informal conference described in the next paragraph resulted.

of vocational guidance is to assist persons to choose, prepare for, enter, and make progress in occupations''; (2) organization of a community for vocational guidance; and (3) activities and working policies of vocational guidance. Two recommendations were adopted:

The officers chosen shall constitute an executive committee and draw up a constitution and declaration of principles.

The constitution shall provide for a system of local branches.

The temporary officers chosen included John M. Brewer as president, Katherine F. Ball as first vice-president, Mrs. Max Morgenthau, Jr., as second vice-president, Russell H. Allen as secretary, and George Chatfield as treasurer.

What happened at Chicago has been described by the president in *The Vocational Guidance Magazine* of February, 1925:

At the Chicago meeting, when the new association was about to be launched and the constitution adopted, Jesse B. Davis stated his opinion that the old association should be continued with the original name, National Vocational Guidance Association, and with all the good will and traditions of the old association. As chairman I then stated that our mailing list for the meeting in Chicago had included all the names on the membership list of the old association, and that the call had stated that a new constitution would be adopted. I then stated that if there was no objection, this notice of the meeting would be considered sufficient notice under the old constitution for the amendment of the constitution, by the adoption of a new one, and that then the old organization could be continued and incorporated with the new. There being no objection to this ruling, the meeting proceeded on that basis.

In this way a break at Chicago was averted. The association was reorganized as a federation of branches in addition to the national society, the seven regularly organized branch associations in 1920 being the Vocational Guidance Association of New York City, the Chicago Vocational Guidance Association, the Vocational Guidance Association of Minneapolis, the Cincinnati Vocational Guidance Association, the Vocational Guidance Association of Philadelphia and Vicinity, the New England Vocational Guidance Association, and the California Vocational Guidance Association. John M. Brewer was elected president, and a committee was appointed, of which he was chairman, to work out during the year "a set of principles which could be endorsed by persons interested in vocational guidance throughout the country, and put forth as a code to guide workers in the movement."

Branch associations. This plan of branches was a happy inspiration of reorganizers of the association. Before this time a double membership was necessary—one in the local group and a second in the national, the latter including subscription to the *Bulletin*. With no co-ordination of effort and with the periodical suspended, local groups were contemplating the issuance of news bulletins of their own. But the branch idea changed all this. Local treasurers collected a single fee and sent a portion of it to the national association; the latter in turn devoted a portion of this to the expenses of the magazine. The plan has worked well.

Kansas City, Kansas, was added as a branch in 1921, making a total of eight branches, and by June, 1922, Washington, D.C., and Southern California were enrolled. Rochester came in in 1923 and by March, 1923, Western Pennsylvania and New Orleans appear in the lists. This made thirteen by summer 1923. By 1933 there were thirty-nine. The full list will be found in the Appendix. In February, 1941, the number was sixty-one (thirty-two hundred persons), which included a Negro branch in Atlanta, a C.C.C. branch in Massachusetts, and organizations in Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Ontario, Canada. About 95 per cent are members of branches.

Sections on specific interests. Another happy invention was the establishment of sections within the association for conference on specific areas within the total field; these groups are independent of local interests.

The first such group was that on occupational research. We are indebted to Florence E. Clark of Chicago for the following notes:

At the Chicago convention of 1924 I planned a small luncheon on occupational research, which was attended by Miss Lane, Miss Corre, and a few others then interested in occupational research. At this meeting a permanent organization was effected which later became a Section, after the members petitioned the Board of Trustees of N.V.G.A. to recognize it as such. Miss Murtland in a written summary of the work of the Occupational Research Section said: "This section was established at the suggestion of Florence E. Clark of Chicago, who served as its first chairman. From the outset the section has been a working group. Hence programs throughout the years have been concerned primarily with policies, methods, and the production of studies. The following persons have served as chairmen: Florence E. Clark (1924-25); May Rogers Lane (1925-26); Mary P. Corre (1926-27); Wilmer Shields (1927-28); Cleo Murtland (1928-29); Barbara Wright (1929-30); Lois Bennett (1930-32); Florence Jennings (1932-33). Membership has

included in the main people who have made or directed occupational studies."

Chairmen since 1933 were as follows: Cleo Murtland (1933-37); Florence E. Clark (1937-38); Mary Schaufler (1938-39); Clara Menger (1939-41); Mary J. Drucker (1941-42).

Another section was begun in 1928 at the Boston convention when the teachers of counselors and city directors met to discuss their problems. At the present writing there are sections on four topics: occupational research, individual analysis, administration and supervision, and preparation for guidance service. In addition there is a "division" on rural guidance. At each annual convention at least one section meeting is held under the auspices of each of these groups.

Committees of the association. When the national association was reorganized in 1920 there were appointed committees on publicity and on legislation. A nomination committee was early found necessary, and by 1927 committees on program and on membership were added. The full list in 1940 was as follows:

Branch associations	Professional standards
Commercial exhibits	Promotion
Convention program	Publications
Counseling	Radio and publicity
Guidance practice	Regional conferences
Legislation	Scholarship
Local arrangements	Special groups
Nominations	Teaching
Personnel and budget	Youth guidance service
Placement	

A committee on terminology, under Fred C. Smith's chairmanship, did notable work in the early thirties.

Methods of voting and the Delegate Assembly. Early conventions found difficulty in voting for officers, particularly because the local members, wherever the convention was held, preponderated in numbers and influence. In at least one instance the report of the nominating committee was overruled in favor of a local candidate for office. Accordingly a plan was worked out (1933) by which a national committee each year secures, through a questionnaire to every member, a nomination for each elected office. The two highest names for each office are then sent out again for the final vote, all this being accomplished in advance of the annual convention.

Likewise, to offer fair representation for the necessary legislation at the conventions, a plan was inaugurated (1938) by which branches select delegates in proportion to their membership roll, and this delegate assembly transacts the business at the conventions.

These expedients are set forth in the revised constitution and by-laws, published in the January, 1939, number of *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine*.

Affiliated organizations. Another source of strength in the National Vocational Guidance Association lies in its effective relationships with other societies devoted to similar interests. Consistently refusing to amalgamate and surrender its identity—there have been at least four occasions when the temptation was strong—the association has affiliated its meetings and other activities with several other bodies. At the Cleveland convention in February, 1934, the American Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations was formed. As indicated in the name, it is composed of societies, not individuals. This plan grew out of joint meetings in which the following were represented:

- National Association of Deans of Women
- American College Personnel Association
- Personnel Research Federation
- National Federation of Bureaus of Occupations
- Teachers College Personnel Association
- National Vocational Guidance Association

By 1939 others were added, and the name was changed to Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations:

- Alliance for the Guidance of Rural Youth
- International Association of Altrusa Clubs
- National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs
- Western Personnel Service
- American Association of Collegiate Registrars (withdrew 1941)
- Institute of Women's Professional Relations

Other national organizations unofficially affiliated themselves with these group meetings; for example, Kiwanis International and the Association of Y.M.C.A. Secretaries.

At the 1939 convention a Policy Committee reported to the council, affirming a number of "fundamental principles" for the right progress of guidance and personnel; these were published in the April number of *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine*.

Of course these form but a small number of organizations inter-

ested in vocational guidance; the October, 1938, issue of *Occupations* printed a list of ninety-six (see Chapter 12).

Later conventions of the association. Since the year 1920, to which we carried the conventions of the original association, regular annual meetings have been held, usually during the three or four days in February just before the week's convention of the American Association of School Administrators. Thus the meetings have been carried from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Lakes to the Gulf, with local stimulation and mutual education. Neither space nor time will suffice for a description of the meetings and their highlights; this news is all written in the magazine, and the list is given in the Appendix. The give and take of these conventions has furnished guidance for the guides, and both encouragement and self-criticism for workers in a difficult field.

Some publications of the association. Not the least important of the works of the association are the succinct and valuable statements to be found in *Principles and Practices of Vocational Guidance*. Even before the association was reorganized in 1920 a brief statement was drawn up. This was adopted and published by the association in 1921 and positions set forth on definitions, need, principles, practices, organization and administration, and equipment and training of vocational guidance workers. This statement was carefully revised and reissued, by committees especially selected for that purpose, in 1924, 1928, 1930, and 1937; this 1937 revision was published in the May, 1937, number of *Occupations*. In 1939 it was issued by the association in an attractive free pamphlet containing suggestions for the organization and success of branch organizations.

The association has issued other materials at various times, notably a book (1931) *Basic Units for an Introductory Course in Vocational Guidance*, under the editorship of Professor Walter B. Jones and prepared by the section on preparation of counselors; and another (1932), *The Printing Trades and their Workers*, by Florence E. Clark and sponsored by the section on occupational research. Later the same section sponsored *Occupations in Retail Stores* by Dorothea de Schweinitz (1937; revised 1941), and a number of manuals by May Rogers Lane. This section co-operated in the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection (1931) and in the preparation of the report *Vocational Guidance* (1932).

The meetings of the section on guidance for rural communities have usually been under the sponsorship of Latham Hatcher, presi-

dent of the Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth; they have led to a number of reports.

A field secretary appointed. Early in 1930 the association obtained from the J. C. Penney Foundation a grant to extend the work of the association through a paid secretary. Accordingly Robert Hoppock was appointed executive secretary on February 1, but the title was changed to "field secretary" at the convention a few weeks later. This work continued for three years, supported after 1931 by grants by the Carnegie Corporation of New York City, through the American Association for Adult Education. Hoppock traveled extensively throughout the country, meeting with branch associations, and assisted in developing interest in the national association and its magazine. He was assisted by Frances Rose. When the Carnegie Corporation made possible the work of the National Occupational Conference, Dr. Hoppock resigned as field secretary to join that organization, and Fred C. Smith, in addition to his duties as editor of the magazine (see Chapter 13) was chosen executive secretary. In 1939, with the association assuming complete charge of its publication, Ralph B. Kenney assumed that office as a full-time post. On that date also the association established headquarters in New York, in rooms donated by Teachers College, Columbia University. Its staff numbers four persons. Dr. Kenney was succeeded in 1941 by Clarence W. Failor.

The outlook. The National Vocational Guidance Association is called a "federation of branch organizations," but strictly speaking it is more than that, since its officers and trustees are elected directly by the whole membership. Its governing group is called Board of Trustees; it is rather an executive board for carrying out the will of the membership. But whatever the names used the professional organization for the vocational guidance movement has carried on and safeguarded this important educational work with commendable energy and intelligence. It is clearly one of the most important of our organizations of educators.

Contributions of Certain Other Organizations

Beginnings by social agencies. Parsons began work in a social settlement and had other offices in a women's educational organization, an economic club, and a Y.M.C.A. Many such groups almost immediately took up vocational guidance, as newspapers carried the story across the country. Y.M.C.A.'s especially imitated Parsons' plans; those in Brooklyn, Boston, New York City, Minneapolis, Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh were a few that organized bureaus.

In many cities private bureaus were organized on the plan of the Vocation Bureau of Boston, independent of any other organization. In New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, Seattle, Atlanta, and Philadelphia vocational guidance was organized and financed privately before the schools took over the work. An example is the Children's Scholarship League of Chicago, which was organized in 1911 and early offered educational and vocational guidance. (See other beginnings noted in Chapter 8.)

In New York City the Vocational Service for Juniors (mentioned in Chapter 8) had its roots in the Alliance Employment Bureau of 1890, the Federated Employment Bureau for Jewish Girls of 1914, the Henry Street Settlement Vocational Guidance Committee, and other free, noncommercial employment bureaus.

In the early examples of the work in schools and settlements it was natural that a great variety of effort should manifest itself. This chapter will give a fragmentary account of such effort, supplementing earlier chapters in which beginnings in American communities were described (in Chapter 8), state and federal effort outlined (in Chapter 9), and the organization of a professional association recounted (in Chapter 11).

Guidance for rural youth. One of the earliest movements for educational and civic welfare is represented by the work of the Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth. The forerunner of this service was the Virginia Bureau of Vocations, founded in 1914 by Latham Hatcher, then a professor at Bryn Mawr College. Later called the Bureau of Vocations, and later still the Southern Woman's Educational Alliance, it organized branches in Chicago (1922), in New York (1923), in Richmond (1929), the Chicago Junior Group

(1929), the University of Chicago Group (1931), and a branch in Washington (1937). The Washington branch has the co-operation of government technicians interested in rural betterment. Its board of trustees includes men and women of large affairs from all parts of the country.

We have already noted in Chapter 9 the work of the Alliance in assisting or initiating the organization of guidance work on the county plan in North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and in Chapter 11 its efforts for rural guidance within the national association.

During its first ten years the Alliance conducted various guidance activities for women in southern colleges. It completed a survey of the occupational interests of students in thirteen colleges, answered many requests for occupational information, presented in colleges explanations of occupations, and held many interviews. Through co-operative arrangements with Goucher College, Iva L. Peters worked out (1925) a course in Social and Vocational Orientation of Women at William and Mary. At Duke University the Alliance assisted in setting up the student personnel department of the Women's College, and made a study of vocational opportunities for educated women in Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem.

During the early period, too, the Alliance supplied the first women students to enter the schools of medicine, pharmacy, and dentistry in the Medical College of Virginia, founded a School of Social Work and Public Health, played an important part in establishing the national and Virginia federations of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, lead in defining standards of business training needed by the modern girl, and prepared a "Directory of Business and Professional Women."

After 1924 attention was directed to rural girls and boys, many of whom were making their way to the city. Thousands of young people and their problems were studied. Institutes in the form of round-table discussions were developed for training elementary school teachers in guidance. In 1936 the Guidance Institute at Lees College, Kentucky, sponsored jointly by Breathitt County leaders, the Alliance, the National Occupational Conference, the University of Kentucky, and Lees College and staffed by national figures in vocational guidance, offered field work and credits for its thirty-three-day courses. At the five-day Pine Mountain Youth Guidance Institute held in 1939 in Harlan County, Kentucky, the topics covered were: the 4-H clubs, the Harlan County Planning Council, the

Harlan Kiwanis Club, health, home economics, hobby clubs, juvenile delinquency, learning by doing, local leaders, out-of-school youth, the Packhorse Library, the Parent Teachers Association, recreation and leisure time, scouts, shopwork, the State Employment Service, tests, textbooks, the purpose of education, the United States Employment Service, and vocational adjustment. A quotation from the report follows:

In connection with the shopwork contacts provided by the Institute much interest was shown by the teachers in such possibilities in an elementary school. A shop corner, with tools totaling in cost no more than seven dollars, was on exhibition. Simple chairs, benches, and a table made from hand-hewn lumber suggested useful possibilities.

Publications of the Alliance include *Guiding Rural Boys and Girls* (1930), *A Mountain School* (1930), *Occupations for Women* (1927), and *Rural Girls in the City for Work* (1930), by Latham Hatcher; and a number of reports and articles.

A movement initiated by college students. A unique event in the story of vocational guidance lies in the organization of the Inter-Collegiate Vocational Guidance Association in 1917, under the leadership of Catherine Filene (now Mrs. Jouett Shouse), at that time a student at Wheaton College. The Association had as its purpose:

1. Stimulation of interest among undergraduates as to the work they could prepare for after graduation.
2. The issue of current information on new developments in women's work.
3. The establishment of a clearing house on occupational information for young people with an A.B. degree or equivalent educational background.
4. The holding of inter-collegiate conferences annually on college campuses to discuss with leaders in the business and professional world opportunities for the college trained girl.

Two such conferences were held at Wheaton, one at the University of Pittsburgh, and one at Cornell. In her book, *Careers for Women*, 1920 (revised 1934), Miss Filene included articles by over one hundred and fifty women on as many vocations.

The work grows into a research and service institute. This organization as such terminated in 1925 and was the parent of the more formal organization, the Institute of Women's Professional Relations, which began in 1929, with Professor Chase Going Woodhouse as director. Both organizations had private support. The latter,

however, had in addition grants from the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations and the United States Government through the W.P.A. In 1934 research headquarters moved from the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina to Connecticut College; branch offices are maintained in Washington, D. C., and New York City. Information on occupations for men and women is distributed, lectures and discussions are arranged, and tryout programs of summer work for junior and senior college women are planned. The literature includes *Women's Work and Education*, an ably edited quarterly, directories and other service literature, and about a dozen studies including some on the newer occupations.

Bureaus for occupational information. We have mentioned in Chapter 7 the work of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston. Another such institution was the Bureau of Vocational Information of New York City, begun in 1918; it published a News Bulletin on opportunities for women. In 1924 the director, Emma P. Hirth, and her assistant, Beatrice Doerschuk, issued their useful book, *Training for the Professions and Allied Occupations*. This bureau was a sample of many organized throughout the country; others are noted in Chapter 17.

Interest of educational organizations. From the earliest years of organized effort, the National Association of Secondary School Principals has from time to time issued reports and featured guidance in its programs. Its recent Occupational Adjustment study is reported in the last chapter. Occasionally the *Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science* publishes vocational guidance articles; the *Psychological Abstracts* of the American Psychological Association has a vocational guidance department, and the National Committee for Mental Hygiene issues material on child guidance.

But it remained for the depression beginning in 1929 to arouse leading associations of educators to the need. With the "product of the school" remaining idle for an average of more than two years after graduating without offer of work, with the success of the C.C.C. and the great activities of the N.Y.A., both for school and college students and for those out of school, attention became active. The Carnegie Foundation financed the National Occupational Conference (see Chapter 19), the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators organized the Educational Policies Commission in 1935, and the American Council

on Education set up the American Youth Commission in the same year.

Each year the Educational Policies Commission, to help co-ordinate efforts in educational policy making, publishes a pamphlet, *Deliberative Committee Reports*, a digest of the conclusions and recommendations of national groups in the field of education during the year. The titles listed under "pupil personnel and guidance" in the 1936 report reads: Educational Counseling of College Students; Occupational Orientation of College Students; A Program of Action for American Youth; The Health of College Students; Youth in European Labor Camps; Mental and Physical Development; Pupil Personnel, Guidance, and Counseling; and Child Development and the Curriculum.

In the words of one of the reports, education must face the following question:

What can and should the schools do to meet the unemployment problem that disturbs and baffles youth, to supply the vocational guidance appropriate to the tempo and characteristics of rapidly changing machine industries, and to familiarize pupils with the realities of the stern scene in front of them?

The conclusion that education, industry, and government must work together includes echoes of pronouncements made at the first national convention of the vocational guidance movement in Boston in 1910. Another report states that a program of general education for all citizens will undoubtedly involve changes in the secondary school curriculums in practically all aspects.

The American Youth Commission was formed of representative leaders in American life to "consider all the needs of youth and appraise the facilities and resources for serving those needs, plan experiments and programs which will be most helpful in solving the problems of youth, and popularize and promote desirable plans of action through publications, conferences, and demonstrations."

The Commission favors part-time schooling in connection with part-time employment, and has undertaken many studies of vocational guidance by schools and private agencies, in order to formulate plans for other communities to follow. The Maryland Survey is an extremely important example of its work in guidance.

The Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations, through its constituent organizations, maintains many forms of vocational guidance. The American College Personnel Association, a clearinghouse

on methods and literature employed in college placement and personnel work, interests itself in vocational counseling and placement of college students in part-time work and in the placement of college alumni. The National Association of Deans of Women maintains a vocational information center for its members. The Personnel Research Federation collaborates with the various types of organizations engaged in studying people and their occupations, and encourages research on vocational and professional opportunities, individual aptitudes, and improving working conditions and employer-employee relations. On the West Coast, the Western Personnel Service, a research and service center for nineteen institutions, stresses the study of college personnel work, the dissemination of occupational information to college counselors, and vocational conferences.

The National Society for the Study of Education has from time to time issued yearbooks related to vocational guidance. In 1924 the twenty-third yearbook contained a variety of articles under the title *Vocational Guidance and Vocational Education for the Industries*, and in 1938 the two separate annuals published were entitled *Guidance in Educational Institutions* and *The Scientific Movement in Education*. Other books have related to testing, classification, and various forms of educational guidance.

Special credit is due to the adventurous publishers of books in this field, who often accepted manuscripts unconventional in form and matter. Educational magazines likewise embarked on new seas in using articles describing experiments in guidance. Foundations frequently gave the new movement financial aid.

Independent experiments in vocational guidance: Minnesota. The Minnesota Employment Stabilization Research Institute was organized in 1931. It studied unemployed persons to determine the cause of unemployment and employed persons to determine the characteristics of successful employment; it was judged that 48 per cent were unemployed for personal reasons. Since many who had never been employed tested high in occupational ability, it was concluded that in emphasizing training and experience employers were missing many valuable workers. The problem of business recovery was found to be that of providing not merely work but also guidance service to find the right work for each individual.

The point of view of the study is stated in *Men, Women, and Jobs*, by Donald Paterson and John G. Darley (1936), on page 118:

By adding to the interview information tests of known validity we may choose a successful worker seven or eight out of ten times. An extensive research program that combines job analyses and measurement is the foundation upon which selection and guidance can build a more stable working population.

Certain other findings follow:

. . . Of 235 men enrolled in commercial correspondence courses only 6 per cent finished their courses, indicating a need for guidance before persons enroll in such courses. Twenty-five to thirty per cent of 2,491 cases being individual problems in guidance, a need for adult guidance was discerned. Individual differences regardless of age are found to be more marked than age group differences, and early retirement tends to lower the morale of an organization as well as to provide the worker with a problem.

As a part of this program, public employment offices in Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth were increased to give service to seven different occupational groups of employees. The use of files in filling calls did away with office lounging. In two years 53,000 out of 124,000 applicants were placed. Because employers were served by this method of selecting applicants, their confidence also was secured. The number of private placement offices dropped from 75 to 38 in two years. The second year was one of testing. Adult guidance and testing was given to 500 persons from other organizations. Such useful work for adults reminds one again of the responsibility of the schools in anticipating some of the vocational problems.

The Adjustment Service of New York City. The central point in the work (from February, 1933, to May, 1934) of the Adjustment Service, directed by Jerome H. Bentley and financed chiefly by the Carnegie Corporation through the American Association for Adult Education, was the client-counselor relationship. To this organization came 16,000 people, two-thirds of them single and three-fourths under thirty-five years of age. As a group they were above average in schooling and came largely from trade, service, and clerical occupations; most of them were unemployed. Candidates were tested with more than a dozen tests and then asked to return to be counseled; meanwhile the counselors had an opportunity to study the data about each person. The counselors were chosen from the unemployed on the basis of attitudes, interests, personal traits, and successful occupational experience, and given six weeks' training. At first difficult problems were brought before a case board

which met daily. Examiners likewise were chosen carefully, and were given a month's training.

Much educational and avocational counseling was given. About 12,000 persons were counseled, after having spent well over two hours being tested; the cost was about \$7.50 a person.

A questionnaire sent to a random selection of over 2,500 clients brought replies from almost four-fifths of them, of whom nearly 90 per cent were specifically helped, two-thirds in building morale and 85 per cent in making occupational plans. Over half had begun suggested educational or recreational activities, and one-fifth had been helped in their search for work.

A number of pamphlets described the various features of the work; one was a summarizing report. It recommended that adult counseling be not left to public employment offices, because of their emphasis merely on placement, to social agencies because they deal with individuals of lower economic levels whereas problems of adjustment are not peculiar to any one level, or to Y.M.C.A.'s or Y.W.C.A.'s because they tend merely to *add* guidance service and not to make it an integral part of the work and because they do not represent all groups in the community. For the present experimental stage, so the report states, adult counseling agencies should be under technical leadership, privately supported (their sponsorship being determined by local conditions), and free to the unemployed and those unable to pay. Of the responsibility of the school for guidance the report concludes (1935):

Before the school can fully realize its aim of adjustment it must make over its curriculum, organization, and administration with that aim in view, and not merely add a guidance department to a program that in operation often tends to defeat the purpose of the guidance.

The Rochester Athenaeum. The distinctive feature of the third program, that of the Rochester Athenaeum and Mechanics Institute, is its curriculum planning, under W. W. Charters and others, and its fusion of guidance with instruction. In 1928 the Institute, which had for nearly a century been providing education not offered by the public schools or the University of Rochester, began a study to discover the best types of positions for which to train its students. The result was a classification of occupations so grouped that common techniques would prepare for several and a curriculum which prepared for supplementary as well as basic jobs. Each student's program is built around the core curriculum and revised from time to

time as growth in objectives takes place; to a considerable extent each student works at his own rate of speed, sometimes by himself, again in a group. The departmental supervisor is his counselor; thus guidance and instruction are in close relation to each other. Nearly all of the seven hundred day students are enrolled under a co-operative and alternating work-and-study plan whereby classroom work is supplemented by actual business experience; students in pairs exchange places each four weeks.

Similar work in other cities. Stimulated by the above experiments, a number of other places organized similar counseling effort. At Cleveland, Donald E. Super, Edward H. Loomis, Joseph S. Kopas, and a number of other persons from industrial and educational institutions organized in 1936 the Cleveland Guidance Service. Dr. Bentley, Dr. Kitson, and Mary H. S. Hayes assisted in the organization of the Service, and the work was merged three years later with the National Youth Administration, Personnel Department, for the State of Ohio.

In Cincinnati and perhaps other cities similar work was organized in connection with placement. At Providence, in 1935, the Rhode Island Institute for Counseling and Personnel Service was set up by twenty-six local agencies. Tests at costs were provided, both for individuals and organizations, including stores and factories.

Work of religious organizations. From the first, the Y.M.C.A.'s have performed guidance activities. Ever since their beginning in 1851, like the young men's associations of the day they have offered educational classes. Undoubtedly these classes influenced the vocational adjustment of those enrolled. In 1893, 343 young men were enrolled in Dayton, and there is a record of their occupational status in relation to their choice in ten subject fields. In 1896, 314 associations reported subjects taught; Chicago was offering fifty-five courses. In Fenn College, Springfield College, and similar institutions good personnel work has developed. Twenty such institutions gave major attention to guidance in 1931; three issues of their bulletins were devoted to it.

Student intercollegiate religious conferences were largely vocational in import, many having been formed by those preparing for the ministry. (See Clarence P. Shedd's *Two Centuries of Student Christian Movements*, 1934.) Missionary service as a career was the theme of the first Northfield conference in 1886, the influence of which has lasted to the present, and of the student volunteer movement from its first quadrennial convention in 1891. "It is my Pur-

pose, if God permit, to become a foreign missionary," awakened vocational interest in the minds of others besides those who subscribed to it. Between 1910 and 1920 *The Will of God a Man's Life Work* (1909) by Henry B. Wright of Yale, with its four "touchstones" by which one might find that "form and place" of life work intended for him, was influencing students to choose to be ministers; while R. H. Edwards was formulating *A Christian's Fundamental Life-Work Decision*, with the aim of encouraging students to choose definitely occupations through which they could give social and Christian service in business or other callings. In 1916 he established a Students' Summer Service Group "for social exploration, seminar, and vocational guidance experience."

During the early months of 1920 the Interchurch World Movement organized in many colleges a program of guidance for life service, under the supervision of Jesse B. Davis. This work was shortly discontinued, but it paved the way for other effort in several colleges.

At the Lake Geneva conferences of 1925 and 1927 and at Blue Ridge in 1928 and 1929 guidance and counseling were offered to students and a seminar was open to college faculty and administrative officers to acquaint them with guidance principles and practices.

Guidance of employed boys, directed by C. C. Robinson of the National Y.M.C.A. Staff after 1909, took the form of filling out an information blank modeled on one Frank Parsons had used, followed by an interview with a person successful in the field of interest indicated. Robinson's "Chart of Vocational Tendency" in his book *The Find Yourself Idea* (1922) preceded the conclusions of Strong and others concerning interest clusters and profiles. About 1932 Robinson went to Honolulu; there, advocating better vocational guidance for boys, he worked through the Y.M.C.A. and taught at the university. Meanwhile Eli Weaver had directed the efforts of the "Y" toward the vocational adjustment of soldiers returning in 1919. Well-planned guidance programs were instituted at Brooklyn, in Hamilton, Ohio, and at Los Angeles between 1925 and 1929. Joseph V. Hanna established a counseling service at the West Side "Y" in New York in 1928. In Cincinnati, under C. E. Lee, lay counselors from industry and the professions co-operated with the schools in a revised form of Robinson's plan; in 1927-28 this group, including the president of the University of Cincinnati and certain of the professors, gave a week-end to a "coaching conference" on vocational adjustment problems; at Cornell and some other institutions similar

seminars have been held. The Cleveland Y.M.C.A. introduced radio talks and skits about 1935; Donald E. Super of the staff directed work similar to that under Bentley in the Adjustment Service. Since 1927 the Brooklyn placement programs have included group guidance and testing.

During the depression of 1929-1940 a number of interesting plans developed, especially for older workers. Sidney W. Edlund started a "Man Marketing Clinic" in New York City in 1935; the plan spread to fourteen cities. Three years later Roland Darling began in the Boston Y.M.C.A. a "40 Plus Club" which placed talented men by the "sale" of one individual through the efforts of another; this scheme spread to thirty-two places. (See *Monthly Labor Review*, April, 1940.) V. L. Gerfen at Cleveland has done similar work; he developed one of the first Job Finders' clubs of the depression, using testing, coaching, "group job research," and clinic. In 1938, 564 Y.M.C.A.'s reported 35,752 different placements. The Boston Y.M.C.A., the Massachusetts State Employment Service, and N.Y.A. were in 1937 conducting a comprehensive program for unemployed youth between eighteen and twenty-five. Groups of fifty were spending three months each in a program including testing, counseling, study of occupations, survey of community and employment trends, and how to discover and secure suitable employment. Seventy per cent placement with satisfactory adjustment was reported.

Characteristic of a number of associations dealing with youth are the testing and counseling services maintained by the Boston Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. A number of cities duplicate such work. The Boston Young Men's Christian Union, co-operating with the Y.M.C.A., maintains the Downtown Forum Counseling Service for young men already at work who are seeking promotion.

Other religious organizations. Members of the Y.W.C.A. attend the quadrennial Student Volunteer conventions and summer conferences to which reference has been made. In the cities likewise the Y.W.C.A.'s have paralleled the Y.M.C.A.'s in placement and other guidance activities. At the Boston Y.W.C.A. placement was carried on from 1866 to 1928, a period of sixty-two years. A sewing school dated from 1875, and a cooking school from 1880. Since 1928 the vocational guidance department has been counseling without direct placement; there are about two hundred counseling interviews a month. Similar work has been done in other cities throughout the country.

Likewise, the Y.M.H.A. and the Y.W.H.A. have done guidance

and placement work for their members. Several Jewish organizations do some form of guidance work. The B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation in Washington, D.C., aims to guide young people in their occupational choices; in New York the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, established in 1932, has one of four committees on vocational services and studies employment and vocational agencies in the Jewish field; and the Jewish Welfare Board, the federation of youth-serving organizations, engages in vocational education, guidance, and placement. The Cleveland and Chicago organizations carry on active and intelligent work. Also the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, established in 1911, with approximately seventy-five thousand members, helps immigrants to obtain employment. Work for refugees has recently become important.

The Catholic Youth Organization, Chicago, interests itself in guidance and employment services. The Columbian Squires, under the Knights of Columbus, and many of the other Roman Catholic organizations which include young people among their members have programs to train youth to meet the new problems of modern industry.

The National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church through its department of religious education is fostering the study of young people's occupational problems. At a ten-day summer conference for youth sponsored by the Episcopal Church in 1930 a course in vocational guidance was offered. The Friends' Service Committee, American, established in 1917, maintains work camps for young men and young women and places people in volunteer social service, as well as maintains a rehabilitation program. Undoubtedly many Sunday School teachers, in efforts to assist young persons in solving their problems, have been called upon for vocational as well as other forms of guidance, and pastors of churches have often engaged in guiding vocationally.

Activities of professional and labor organizations. A history of the American Association of University Women, by Marion Talbot and Lois K. M. Rosenberry (1931), gives a remarkable story of educational and vocational guidance. Organized in 1881, its founders, Emily Fairbanks Talbot and Ellen H. Richards, envisioned a plan by which young graduates would offer helpful counsel to girls still in school and college. Opportunities for training were discussed in 1883, and professions for women in 1884 and in many subsequent years. A leaflet of 1892 explained the association's

Bureau of Occupations, which functioned for four years. In 1909 a Committee on Vocational Opportunities was created, with Elizabeth Kemper Adams as chairman. An interesting article in the association's April, 1913, *Journal* analyzed three hundred replies to a questionnaire regarding salary, training, mode of securing position, qualifications needed for success in occupation, advantages and disadvantages, the best equipment for the occupation, and the best mode of entering it. A 1913 publication, *Vocational Training*, a classified list of institutions training educated women for occupations other than teaching, is a 137-page bulletin arranged alphabetically by occupations and by institutions and courses under each.

The association and its branches have contributed to the extension of guidance in numerous ways: guidance for war work, vocational conferences, financing child guidance (Washington, D.C., 1923), state guidance programs, surveys for schools, follow-up studies, and the publication of numerous books, pamphlets, and articles. During 1937-39 two hundred and seventy-four branches reported projects in educational or vocational guidance, or both.

Through the influence of Lincoln Filene the University Club of Boston in 1926 organized a Vocations Department, directed by Stanley C. Lary. His conferences and counseling at the club and visits to colleges helped several of these institutions to improve their services in guidance.

The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, organized in 1919 and numbering over sixty thousand individuals, studies the professional advancement of women, opportunities in various fields of work, and the progress of women in their vocations. It aims to increase the employability of business and professional women and to extend their opportunities for employment through education and proper vocational adjustment. Under Frances Cummings, later president of the National Vocational Guidance Association, a number of vocational pamphlets were published.

Specific professions all have organizations; e.g., engineers, pharmacists, nurses, dentists, authors, teachers, social workers, clergymen, librarians, and the like, which take an interest in recruiting new members of the profession. The American Occupational Therapy Association, organized in 1917, with a membership of a thousand, provides information regarding centers, gives advice about the occupation, makes surveys and recommendations in particular fields, and maintains a placement service for trained therapists. The Engineers'

Council for Professional Development publishes studies to attract others to the profession, encourages its members to co-operate with public schools in guidance, and tries to help young graduates to enter the profession. The American Association of Social Workers, established in 1921 and now numbering over nine thousand members, aims through its Division on Employment Practices to establish satisfactory conditions of employment and retirement, as well as to distribute information concerning social work as a profession.

Similar activities have been carried on by employers and employees. The 1910 convention of the American Federation of Labor endorsed the movement for "vocational direction." Studies have been made, several at the time of the war in 1918, under the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense formed by employers, labor, and education, on subjects of vocational guidance import. The work of the unions has been to enable persons through collective action to secure placement in industry under adequate wages and satisfactory conditions. The New England Office Managers' Association and the national organization have engaged in vocational guidance and employed vocational guidance techniques in an effort to better industrial conditions.

At Washington the Society for Personnel Administration was organized in 1937, following the interest of the government in setting up personnel offices. The National Association of Manufacturers has for many years issued material related to vocational guidance, particularly in defense of the private enterprise system. Likewise the National Safety Council's materials relate to guidance.

We cannot attempt to give even a sketch of the history of personnel management, nor of the gradual discovery that methods of real guidance are effective in stores, offices, mines, and factories as well as in schools and colleges. A truly professional agent, the personnel manager, will gradually take his place as a member of the board of managers of every progressive firm.

Specific professional associations very nearly control, directly or indirectly, the education and admission of new entrants into their occupations: law, teaching, nursing, medicine, dentistry, engineering, the clergy, music, and others; there are obvious disadvantages in this situation, as there are in the high fees and other hurdles set up by the labor unions.

Service clubs. Numerous country-wide organizations, among them Rotary, Kiwanis, the Lions, Quota, Zonta, and Altrusa, have assisted vocational guidance work in their communities by providing

speakers and by co-operating with the schools. Rotary, the Lions, and Kiwanis have often done placement work.

In 1926 Kiwanis International adopted as an objective the encouragement of "the interest of all Kiwanis clubs in providing vocational guidance for young men and women." Since that time the practical business and professional experience of the members has been drawn upon in giving information about various occupations to interested young people. Interest in this activity has grown steadily, and considerable explanatory literature has been prepared to guide members in their guidance activities. The *Kiwanis Counselor's Handbook* was prepared

to assist Kiwanis vocational counselors by outlining the essential elements of counseling and some desirable procedures of helping youth and adults to find a place in occupational life to which they may become well adjusted.

In it counseling is explained, a list of fourteen qualifications of counselors is given, and a fourteen-point statement of important things to be observed in the counseling interview is presented. In 1938 nine hundred and eighty-four clubs carried on vocational guidance activities.

In 1931 the secretary of the Oakland Lions' Club reported co-operative activities with other clubs in the city during the preceding year, 1,000 youths having been placed, 3,000 interviews held in the office, 1,200 youths followed up, on their jobs, and 1,400 conferences held with employers at their places of business. In Norristown, Pennsylvania, a co-operative plan entered into by Rotary, the Lions, and Kiwanis led to a boys' organization, "Roliwanis," for guidance.

Rotary International does specific vocational guidance training, placement, and youth counseling through its clubs.

Zonta interests itself in the welfare of girls and women in business—especially older women. Before 1931 its vocational guidance activities included talks in schools, advising individuals, and publishing occupational pamphlets.

The Altrusa Clubs in 1936 reported among their activities supplying speakers, providing scholarships and loans, working with other organizations, surveys, hobby enjoyment, and placement. *Current Notes on Women at Work*, a survey, was made under Altrusa of Boston by Florence Jackson, Wellesley Vocational Consultant, after its use in the Boston Public Schools and Radcliffe College had been

assured. New York Altrusa studied the employment of older women. Still another study was of occupational opportunities in Wisconsin.

Welfare organizations. In earlier chapters there are many references to activities on the part of social and civic organizations. Since several recent investigations of youth show that their most insistent problems are those of occupational adjustment, it is but natural that family case workers, charity organizations, and scholarship committees early found it needful to offer vocational guidance.

Problem girls and those of moderate mentality engage the attention of the New York Vocational Adjustment Bureau, founded by Mrs. Henry Ittleson in 1919 and directed by Emily T. Burr. It serves more than a hundred social agencies, correcting psychopathic tendencies through vocational and other forms of guidance; also it is a training center for graduate students of Columbia University. Some of its practices have been adopted by the schools. It has published about a score of pamphlets on its work and findings.

In Boston, aged women and others are given encouragement, guidance, training in power-machine sewing, and placement in the Community Workshops directed by Hazel Newton. This agency had been established in 1877 as the Co-operative Workrooms.

The Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor in New York employed in 1931 one case worker trained in vocational guidance for boys and girls. The National Federation of Settlements (founded in 1911) has a department of unemployment and social security. Morgan Memorial and its branches are constantly busy with guidance. The Salvation Army activities include employment. Two organizations give vocational help to discharged prisoners: the Society for the Friendless, Kansas City, Missouri, with sixteen state organizations, includes employment-finding among its activities; and the Osborne Association, Inc., of New York aids discharged prisoners in making their occupational adjustment.

The National Child Labor Committee and its state branches have continuously interested themselves in vocational guidance.

Guidance for the handicapped. Many private agencies provide guidance for the handicapped. The American Association to Promote the Teaching of Speech to the Deaf advises vocationally and maintains an employment bureau for the deaf. The American Society for the Hard of Hearing gives vocational advice. Vocational guidance activities of the American Foundation for the Blind include research in educational and vocational opportunities, and scholarships are offered for a limited number of promising students

with satisfactory vocational objectives. The National Society for the Prevention of Blindness gives suggestions and guidance in choosing an occupation. The Braille Institute of America (Los Angeles) advises by correspondence, does placement work, and publishes in Braille books written to promote vocational rehabilitation. All of these organizations, except the first, have been founded since 1908.

The National Rehabilitation Association (1925), numbering fifty thousand individuals, has national and state programs. About 25 per cent of the cost of rehabilitation is borne by private agencies, the rest by the government. The Shut-in Society, founded in 1877, with about seventy-five hundred members, provides correspondence on ways to earn (among other topics) and materials for handiwork. Modern sanatoriums for tuberculosis have in recent years used forms of vocational guidance, including aptitude tests, to enable patients to find their places in occupational life. The National Tuberculosis Association has published a handbook (1941) on testing and counseling.

Organizations for the Negroes. The National Urban League of New York City (founded in 1910 and numbering twenty-two thousand members in 1939), which exists "to further the industrial advancement of the Negro," seeks better employment opportunities as a means of improvement for urban Negroes. Its periodical is *Opportunity*. In 1939 its Department of Industrial Relations published a vocational guidance bibliography compiled by Ann Tanneyhill. The organization has sponsored many Vocational Opportunity Campaigns. The Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, a more recent organization already numbering over twenty-five thousand members, has a committee on vocational guidance. The activities of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes (Concord, North Carolina) are chiefly of a vocational guidance nature.

Fostering by parents and voters. The Parent Teachers Associations, both national and local, have very often expressed interest in vocational guidance, and have actively supported action by boards of education. Likewise the League of Women Voters has regularly included guidance on its favored list; branches have often maintained committees to study and further its organization in local, county, and state areas.

Organizations parallel to the schools. An effective long-continuing scheme of guidance—indeed, one resembling county plans—is that organized with the Y.M.C.A. as the center at White

River Junction, Vermont. In 1907 Archibald C. Hurd, who had been connected with naval Y.M.C.A. work at Brooklyn, went to Vermont and began handicraft classes (before 4-H clubs) and, in 1909, vocational guidance for boys and girls in nearly a score of high schools in three counties of New Hampshire and Vermont. A teen-age survey, help to rural schools, vocational forums, conferences between successful workers and youth, visits to schools, colleges, farms, and industrial establishments, and thousands of counseling interviews, both at the central office and at the schools, characterize the work.

A number of clubs for youth, most of them founded since 1908, develop handicraft skills and in some instances business experience. Junior Achievement (1919) with a membership of four thousand, has as its purpose developing ability to do simple handicraft work and learning actual business procedures connected with the making and marketing of these things. Combining manual skills and managerial skills in one organization is a distinct departure from the public school's manual training activities.

In 1909 there was a Grand Rapids Junior Association of Commerce, sponsored by Jesse B. Davis, for giving to the sons of members of the senior association an opportunity to know the industrial interests of the city. The boys spent Saturday mornings listening to a brief talk by the director and then visiting one of the factories or business houses of the city.

A leader of these organizations, the Boys' Clubs of America, was organized in 1906 mainly for underprivileged boys. Usually there is a club building with gymnasium facilities; about half the clubs maintain summer camps. Some maintain directors of vocational guidance, and many have group work in occupational information. (*Vocational Guidance for Boys*, by Robert C. Cole [1941], gives a good account of such work.)

The most far-reaching of these organizations is the Boy Scout organization founded in 1910 and numbering over a million boys, including the junior organization of "cubs" eight to twelve years of age. Through the system of merit badges the boys are encouraged to learn about various occupations. Many of the activities are of exploratory and tryout value.

The Girl Scouts (1912) for girls ten to eighteen years of age, and the "Brownies" for girls from eight to ten, already a group of about 400,000, engage in many homemaking activities and arts. The Camp Fire Girls (1911) engage in homecraft, handicraft, and business pur-

suits. Active participation is encouraged in a wide variety of occupational activities (there being some seven hundred to choose from), the successful accomplishment of each being rewarded by an additional bead to wear at meetings. This group, with the younger "Blue Birds," now numbers over 232,000 individuals. The Girls' Service League of America (1908), reaching more than 1,000 individuals, aims to provide vocational guidance for girls sixteen to twenty-one years of age.

Many state Y.M.C.A. committees conduct Hi-Y clubs and camp activities for boys. In larger cities there are day and night classes in vocational and cultural subjects. Employment agencies and vocational guidance service are widely maintained. The program of the Girl Reserves, a Y.W.C.A. organization of teen-age girls, includes economics and the development of skills. Aid is given in acquiring techniques that will provide hobbies for adult years, some of them yielding an income. Employed girls under eighteen years are given particular attention; girls of foreign parentage and Indian girls in reservation schools are reached.

Other such groups include the 4-H clubs with their emphasis on agriculture; the Catholic Boys' Brigade of the United States, which has a program of instruction and camping; the Sons of the American Legion, which gives occupational instruction under the guidance of older members; the Junior Red Cross, which stresses health and has a strong life-saving swimming program; and the junior division of the Jewish Welfare Board. The Boy Rangers of America for boys eight to twelve years of age, leads to scout and other organizations. The masters or "guides" are responsible for the lodges, which engage in handicraft, especially crafts of the Indians and early pioneers. The Pioneer Youth of America, established in 1924 for boys and girls of eight to sixteen years, is sponsored by labor organizations and includes among its leaders members of the faculty of Brookwood Labor College. The activities of the membership of about one thousand adults, working in New York and Philadelphia, Durham and Marion, North Carolina, Lynchburg, Richmond, and Roanoke, Virginia, one West Virginia county, and Arkansas, provide camping, craft work, and industrial trips.

In addition to the tryout experiences afforded members of these organizations, the relationship between the young people and their guardians or guides forms a background for vocational counseling and guidance.

Voluntary enterprise by official organizations is indicated by the

extensive work in guidance carried on by certain urban police departments and also by fire departments. One or more city police commissioners are systematically endeavoring to train a group of patrolmen for counseling work and to inaugurate testing, counseling, placement, and research. The police of Sydney, Australia, have carried on excellent work of this sort. Little co-operation by school departments is thus far indicated.

The Future Farmers of America (1928) and Future Teachers of America (1937) are important examples of professional organization among beginners in occupational service.

Various child guidance foundations, the Judge Baker Guidance Center (1917) of Boston and the Bemis-Taylor Foundation (1929) of Colorado Springs, for instance, are arising to meet the needs of youth who are not provided for by other organizations.

College fraternities which sponsor vocational guidance include Alpha Tau Omega, a national organization of whose Vocational Advisory Board Harry D. Kitson is chairman, which does effective vocational guidance and placement work for its members; Mortar Board, a national honor society for college women, whose personnel committee outlines a program of occupational information and vocational possibilities; and Phi Delta Kappa, a professional fraternity in education whose *Education Abstracts* regularly includes information on guidance.

Many other organizations. We had hoped to conclude this chapter with a list of the nation-wide voluntary organizations which in one way or another are interested in and fostering vocational guidance. But our collection grew unwieldy in size, with over two hundred names. The list includes societies related to the following interests among others: educational, religious, youth, business, professional, labor, agricultural, the handicapped, civic, fraternal, social, charitable, financial.

In 1931 C. C. Robinson quoted the *New York Telegram* in stating that over \$125,000,000 a year is spent by the American public on soothsayers and fortune tellers. By way of contrast it is encouraging to realize that so many constructive efforts as those mentioned above are being made to help Americans to plan their lives wisely, and to safeguard and support the movement for vocational guidance in schools and colleges.

Chapter XIII

The Development of a Professional Periodical

AS WE read our present numbers of *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, it is difficult to realize that the first official publication of the National Vocational Guidance Association was once only a tiny pamphlet of four brief pages, little resembling the present periodical. The journal of today seems to have but few characteristics reminiscent of its younger and less prosperous days.

An early Vocational Guidance Number. An editorial statement by Frederick J. Allen in the February, 1925, *Vocational Guidance Magazine* reads in part:

The year 1911 passed without a conference, but it was marked in Boston by the publication by the Vocation Bureau, of *The Vocational Guidance News-Letter* under the editorship of the writer. This little publication, which had scarcely more than a local circulation, was in a very real sense the precursor of our present publication, *The Vocational Guidance Magazine*.

This issue was published as the Vocational Guidance Number of the *Boston Home and School News-Letter*.

The Vocational Guidance Bulletin. Since 1915 there has been a national magazine. From 1915 to 1918 it was the *Vocational Guidance Bulletin*, a leaflet edited by W. Carson Ryan, Jr., of the United States Bureau of Education, secretary of the national association during those years. The bulletin was printed in the shop owned by Dr. Ryan's brother, at a cost of about six dollars and a half an issue. The national association, named as publisher, bore the modest expense of printing and postage. This bulletin was 6 by 8¼ inches in size; approximately five hundred copies were circulated for each issue. When published monthly the bulletin consisted of four pages; when an issue covered two months it usually consisted of eight. In later issues the bimonthly plan tended to prevail, probably in the interest of economy and quality. The full list of issues is given in our Appendix.

The bulletin was devoted largely to news items. Its aim was stated in the first issue (April, 1915) as follows:

The purpose of the *Vocational Guidance Bulletin* is to serve as a

medium of communication. Members of the National Vocational Guidance Association are scattered over the country. The annual meeting, which is the only opportunity for direct interchange of ideas, reaches only a relatively small part of our membership. This *Vocational Guidance Bulletin* should help all of us to know what the other fellow is doing.

The longest item in the first issue, and probably the most important one, commented on an article by Superintendent W. A. Wheatley of Middletown, Connecticut, "A Course in Vocational Information in a Small City," which had appeared in the March, 1915, issue of the *School Review*. Most of the issues contained a section on recent articles or books on vocational guidance. Convention announcements, programs, and sometimes accounts of speeches were included.

The character of the bulletin changed somewhat as it progressed; it became more helpful to its readers and particularly to vocational counselors in schools. Reports of meetings and activities became longer and richer, descriptions of programs in actual operation became more common, and articles giving detailed discussions of important phases of vocational guidance began to appear. References to publications, books, magazines, bibliographies, new studies completed or being undertaken, and training opportunities for vocational guidance workers, all tended to prove helpful. Activities of the National Vocational Guidance Association and other important phases of the vocational guidance movement were frequently mentioned. The bulletin must have brought new ideas and inspiration when there was scarcely a handful of workers scattered over the country.

Altogether twenty-two numbers of the bulletin in its first form were issued by Ryan; the twenty-third was published by Roy W. Kelly, national secretary, at Harvard University. With this issue the periodical awaited the reorganization of the association (see Chapter 11; also the list in the Appendix).

The National Vocational Guidance Association Bulletin. From 1918 to 1921, with the war and the change of secretaries, the publication of the bulletin was interrupted. When the national association was reorganized, however, publication was resumed, first under the editorship of Anne S. Davis of Chicago and later that of Frederick J. Allen of Harvard University.

Beginning in August, 1921, four numbers of a *National Vocational Guidance Association Bulletin* were issued from Chicago; they varied in length from twelve to thirty-two pages. Abstracts of some of the papers of the February (1921) convention at Atlantic City were given, and reports from six of the branches: New England,

New York, Minneapolis, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, and California. The names of officers, trustees, and committees of the National Vocational Guidance Association and the names of the presidents and secretaries of the eight branches in existence at that time constituted the last page of the bulletin. This type of information has appeared on the last pages of nearly all subsequent issues of the bulletin. The following June some items were cited under the topic, "New Headlines for Vocational Guidance from the Field":

Pittsburgh prepares and gives radio course in occupations. Tryout courses include six common trades in general shop for seventh grade and rotation plan in eighth. Counselors attempting to figure costs and prove that advice pays for itself in human salvage.

Boston Vocational Guidance Bureau prepares a book describing high schools; every eighth grade child to receive a copy.

Providence plan of advertising education proves a great success. Percentage of eighth grade graduates jumps from 65 to 91. Pupils make good in high school.

In December, 1922, the publication was taken over by the Bureau of Vocational Guidance of the Graduate School of Education, Harvard University. At the Detroit national convention in December it was voted that the action of the trustees in adopting the plan be ratified, the publisher agreeing to finance the bulletin's deficit and to render annual accounting.

Growth under the editorship of Frederick J. Allen. In January, 1923, Frederick J. Allen became editor of the bulletin, which was published by the bureau with the co-operation of the New England Vocational Guidance Association. An editorial statement appeared in each issue; an extract from the first follows:

It is our purpose to make this publication a means for the interchange of ideas and news among all workers for the cause, to provide opportunity for presenting the activities of the national and local associations, and to place before all workers the formal statements upon theory and practice of the most constructive leaders in the work. . . . The secretaries and other officers of the local associations are asked to send to the editor of this *Bulletin* news items of all local activities, and contributions are desired from every source.

The subscription price, which included membership in the national association, was fixed at one dollar, and an edition of two thousand copies was printed. Further it was stated that advertising material

was to be included to reduce the cost. A table of contents appeared for the first time. A book review department was to be maintained, and publishers were invited to send books regularly for review.

Special numbers devoted entirely to guidance activities in a particular locality appeared occasionally. The first one, that of January, 1924, was designated as the Providence Number. It was followed in February by the New York City Number.

The growing importance of the periodical was emphasized by Harry D. Kitson, then president of the National Vocational Guidance Association, in October, 1923, when he said,

The mission of the association—to serve as the co-ordinating agency for the manifold organizations seeking to do vocational guidance work—has this year been more fully realized than ever before, chiefly through the services of the *Bulletin*. For it has come to be recognized as the national organ of the movement, and as such it gives us fitting representation in America and in foreign countries.

The *Bulletin* becomes *The Vocational Guidance Magazine*. Upon the recommendation of the trustees adopted at the annual conference in Chicago, the name was changed with the March, 1924, issue to *The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, and for the first time the statement, "An Organization Concerned with Educational and Vocational Guidance," appeared on the title-page under the name of the national association. The dues now became two dollars, to meet the growing expenses of the magazine. This number contained an agreement adopted February 23, 1924, between the national association and the publishers of the magazine. It included the following points: the Bureau of Vocational Guidance was to issue eight numbers of the magazine in 1923-24 and eight numbers in 1924-25 and to distribute them to members of the association; the treasurer of the association was authorized to pay to the bureau, toward the expenses of the magazine, one dollar for each member at large; the editor was to be appointed by the bureau; material was to be collected and edited subject to the advice of the publicity committee and of the officers and trustees of the association. At each annual meeting the association was to determine what arrangements would be made for the publication of the magazine during the following school year.

By definite solicitation of material from leading workers and by editorial statements written apparently to arouse interest and moral support on the part of the workers, the magazine was built up. Five

educators of high professional standing consented to review material regularly for the columns. There were four special numbers during the year ending February 21, 1925: the Annual Conference Number, the Minneapolis Number, the Rochester Number, and the Boston Number. The Editorial Statement, Reports from the Field, and Books and Other Literature were regular features through several numbers; the April, 1925, issue brought an Editorial Department, a Field Department, and a Review Department.

The size of the magazine is indicated in the following selection from the report of the editor to the trustees of the association for the year ending February 21, 1925:

The eight numbers covered by this report have included 287 pages of double column, closely packed material, running 750 words to the page, or about 215,000 words. This would make two generous volumes if published in book form. Each number of the *Magazine* now contains about 24,000 words, or as much material as the general educational publication.

With the May number an enlarged type was used; the magazine became forty-eight pages in length and appeared in a new light blue cover. At the end of the school year 1924-25 it had become necessary to carry over to the early issues of the following year a considerable number of excellent articles, some of them papers given at conventions and others contributions from the field. There were plans then for special numbers such as a College Number, an Employment Number, and a Philadelphia Number for the coming year.

The magazine for October, 1925, contained a number of outstanding articles, among them "Vocational Guidance in Secondary Education" by Alexander J. Inglis and "The Professionalization of the Guidance Worker" by Edwin A. Lee. The first picture to appear in *The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, or in any of the earlier publications of the association, was that of Frank Parsons, which was used as the frontispiece of this issue. Frederick J. Allen in his editorial reviewed briefly the work of Parsons as a pioneer in the field of vocational guidance. The Pittsburgh Number of February, 1926, was the largest issue of the magazine up to that time; it numbered sixty-four pages and contained five illustrations. Nearly five thousand copies were distributed. In April, 1926, the first Occupational Research Number appeared.

Unfortunately for the vocational guidance movement Frederick J.

Allen passed away in the spring of 1927, after seventeen years of service in this field and five as editor of the magazine.

During his editorship he had planned to republish in book form a number of the best articles from the magazine. This plan was carried out after his death, with the eighty articles he had selected published in two books, *Principles and Problems in Vocational Guidance* and *Practice in Vocational Guidance* (1927).

Dr. Smith becomes editor. In October, 1927, Fred C. Smith, then instructor in education at Harvard, became editor of the magazine to succeed Mr. Allen. Dr. Smith served until 1937.

Some idea of the rapid growth of the magazine in these early years may be gained from the following figures on subscriptions: 1923, 703; 1924, 734; 1925, 772; 1926, 957; 1927, 1374; 1928, 1789. In 1929 it was included in the *Education Index*. The subscription price advanced in 1930 from two dollars to two dollars and a half a year. At about this time, in order to increase the circulation of the magazine, a twelve-page circular of endorsements entitled *A Contribution to the Cause of Education* was prepared and circulated widely. In it scores of educators, publicists, and others, in all parts of the country and in foreign countries, gave their approval to the work of this periodical. Another such circular was published in 1931.

Because of the increased circulation and the fact that the magazine was reaching people in a wide range of occupations, it was proposed at the officers' and trustees' meeting of the national association on August 10, 1929, to enlarge the editorial staff to include influential persons in the field of general education, social work, and industry. Seven associate editors were chosen: Richard D. Allen, John M. Brewer, Leona C. Buchwald, Franklin J. Keller, Harry D. Kitson, George E. Myers, and William M. Proctor. An advisory board of twenty-eight persons was also appointed.

The Field Department grew steadily (ten of the forty-eight pages of the October, 1930, issue were devoted to this section), and the articles in the magazine covered a wide range of topics. The October, 1931, issue, for example, contained one article on industry, one each on social agencies and service clubs, two concerning the work of educators (one on their work in the classroom, the other on that as counselor), and one on the national convention. In November, 1931, there was one article on counseling, another on selecting counselors, and a third on re-educating the jobless child; the remaining titles were "Vocational Guidance and Social Work," "Selection, Training, and Promotion of Employees," and "Twenty-five Guidance Plans."

Not only educators and through them the schools, but social workers, employment managers, and young workers, if perchance copies of the magazine reached them, must have benefited by such articles.

In October, 1932, the editor announced, "With this issue *The Vocational Guidance Magazine* becomes a self-supporting enterprise." A brief financial report was given. For ten years Harvard University had subsidized the magazine (1922-32). Each year the university had assumed the deficit. In 1923, when the subscription list was less than one thousand, the deficit was \$3500; in 1931 the subscribers numbered approximately three thousand, and the magazine lacked but \$1700 of paying its way. The school year 1932-33 saw a deficit of only a small sum which might properly be called salary for the editor. At this point Harvard University found it necessary to discontinue support. Dr. Smith was continued as editor and plans were made to put the magazine on a self-supporting basis. Here, however, the National Occupational Conference intervened.

Meanwhile the Field Department became Keeping the Record, edited by Roy N. Anderson of Columbia University, and a revision of the constitution had the editor appointed by the Board of Trustees (January, 1933).

Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine. The new change to the name *Occupations*, which came in 1933, eighteen years after the magazine was started, was explained by William M. Proctor, president of the national association, in a statement published in the magazine, which read in part as follows:

By strictest economy and volunteer service *The Vocational Guidance Magazine* has been able to maintain itself during this past year without subsidy . . . The National Occupational Conference saw the need of a medium of contact and expression in the field of guidance and therefore proposed that it co-operate with the National Vocational Guidance Association in publishing the magazine in an expanded form.

In a later place (Chapter 19) will be noted the accomplishments of the six years of the National Occupational Conference, and the help it gave to the association and the periodical. In subscription list alone these figures, beginning with 1933 and ending with 1939, are surprising enough: 1929, 2000, 2530, 2950, 3800, 3950, 6437. In February, 1941, the figure was 7374.

Dr. Smith resigned his editorship in the spring of 1937; he had become dean of the University of Tennessee in 1936. Harry D. Kitson, professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia Univer-

sity, was chosen to fill the office. His assistants were Edwin A. Lee and Robert Hoppock, with Donald Cresswell as managing editor. Associate editors were Morse A. Cartwright, John A. Fitch, Leona C. Buchwald, and Lynn A. Emerson.

The association takes over the magazine. The National Occupational Conference was intended to be a brief and stimulating activity, and it certainly accomplished that purpose under its two directors, Franklin J. Keller (1933-36) and Edwin A. Lee (1936-39). When its discontinuance was decided upon, the work in the United States Office of Education having begun, there were a number of conferences within the National Vocational Guidance Association to plan what should be done; Jerome H. Bentley was chairman of a committee to study the problem. Finally it was decided that the association should remain a separate organization (affiliation had been discussed) and that the magazine should be published and financed by the association. The Carnegie Corporation made a grant of funds to assist in the transitional stage, the magazine was reduced slightly in size, but a slightly smaller type was selected and apparently all the gains under the N.O.C. were conserved. New names were added to the editorial board, including Rex B. Cunliffe, Warren K. Layton, Irma E. Voigt, and Ralph B. Kenney, the new managing editor. An advisory committee of nine persons also served.

From such small beginnings has grown one of the most important periodicals in American education. Though devoted to the vocational aspect of life, the magazine has never been a commercial enterprise—it has never been published by a private person or group, and quite unlike most other publications it has rendered annual accounts to an association of educational workers. It is founded on an excellent history.

Its educational standard has been high, its editorship of the best, its business affairs well conducted (the announcement is now made that during 1940-1941 the magazine was self-supporting), and its reputation from the beginning such as to attract even those who have been skeptical of the aims of vocational guidance.

Preparing Counselors and Developing a Professional Literature

A PROFESSIONAL association and a periodical are of little value unless wisely used—both must depend upon the adequate preparation of counselors for their work. Moreover such preparation cannot succeed without the accumulation of a good literature.

The first course. Whether or not Frank Parsons ever knew about Lysander S. Richards and his plan for developing professional workers called "vocophers" we do not know, yet he too saw the need for inaugurating a course of study for prospective counselors. He prepared and issued an elaborate eight-page circular announcing a School for Vocational Counselors, with himself as dean of the school and with Ralph Albertson, Mrs. John T. Prince, and Philip Davis as associate counselors.

The date set for the opening of this course of study was October 5, 1908; but on September 26 Frank Parsons passed away. That the course was carried on, however, we have evidence in an extract from the minutes of a meeting of the Educational Committee of the Boston Y.M.C.A. The minute book contains the following statement:

October 31, 1908

Through the death of Professor Parsons, the originator of the Vocation Bureau idea, we have been somewhat handicapped in developing this department to which, however, we were pledged. In deference to the wishes of Professor Parsons, Ralph Albertson consented to carry on the course in the training of vocation counselors, which is now being held on Saturday evenings, with an attendance varying from 16 to 25, representing philanthropic institutions, schools, and employers of labor. This matter of giving expert vocational advice has been taken up enthusiastically in all parts of the country, and we have been in receipt of a great number of inquiries and letters of approbation. We feel that this movement will make a distinct contribution to the educational system of this country.

GALEN D. LIGHT
Secretary

This course continued apparently for about sixteen meetings and, interestingly enough, was paralleled by a course of lectures at Civic Service House for boys and girls seeking to choose their careers.

This course for youth was given by a number of persons, on Sunday nights from November 8, 1908, to February 1, 1909, and covered the professions, business, industrial work, special fields for women, and careers in art, music, and the drama.

Courses for Boston counselors. We have already recounted in Chapter 6 how Superintendent Brooks of Boston requested the Vocation Bureau to organize a course for those Boston school teachers who had been named counselors. The first such class, composed of one hundred and seventeen Boston city teachers officially appointed vocational counselors, met fortnightly (afternoons) throughout the year 1910 under the direction of the Vocation Bureau. The bureau files yielded a two-page outline of the course, by Bloomfield. These courses continued until 1913, when the Boston School Committee, with the co-operation of the Vocation Bureau, took over the work. In 1911 the group included thirty-five holders of college degrees, principals and superintendents of schools, church workers, settlement workers, heads of manual training schools, and practical working men who had become industrial teachers. The course included lectures on vocational guidance, counseling, and investigation of occupations, supplemented by speakers from the professions, business, and industry. Eleven subjects, most of them occupational, were studied the first year, and thirteen the second. The bureau also organized a Monday afternoon course of lectures and conferences in October, 1912.

Work under university auspices. The first university course in vocational guidance was offered by the Harvard University Summer School in 1911. The catalogue announcement begins:

Vocational Guidance.—The duties and equipment of teachers as vocational counselors; the theory and practice of vocational guidance.—Lectures, readings, conferences. Ten lectures beginning Friday, July 7, and continuing on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays at 4 P.M. for three weeks.

It was stated further that Meyer Bloomfield would be the instructor and that there would be an examination. Forty-one were enrolled in this first course, which did not carry credit. In 1912 it was accepted for the A.A. (Associate in Arts—extension work) degree. The 1913 summer school catalogue explained that

the course has been provided in view of the present demand for co-operation with young people concerning selection of and preparation for voca-

tions appropriate to their opportunities and capacity, and because of the increased responsibility thus put upon school-teachers and others.

During the first three years ninety-five institutions were represented in the enrollment in the course; at least fifty of them were of college grade.

Meanwhile, influenced no doubt by the success of the work of the Vocation Bureau of Boston and the course at Harvard University, courses for counselors were appearing in other colleges and universities. During the 1912 Summer Quarter at the University of Chicago, vocational guidance was the last of nine topics in the course Industrial Education in Public Schools, which was open to senior college and graduate students; it was also mentioned in the 1911-12 Correspondence Study Department course of this name. It may have been a quarter of the content of The Year's Contributions to Vocational Education, given in the Summer Quarter of 1912 and in 1912-13. "The course includes a discussion of the more recent literature on the subject, and a review of recent legislation. A detailed study will be made of several typical vocational schools, and of the progress of vocational guidance." All these courses carried full credit, and were given by Associate Professor Frank M. Leavitt. The first course at Chicago specifically in vocational guidance was given one term (six weeks) during the Summer Quarter of 1913 by Professor Leavitt. The catalogue announcement read:

Vocational Guidance (2) The course includes a discussion of the recent rapid development of the various organizations, within and outside of schools, for securing a more accurate adjustment between education and early vocational experience. The effect of the movement on the schools and on juvenile employment will be discussed. For graduate and senior college students.

This was not changed until the 1915-16 announcement, when the following sentence, inserted after the first one above, indicates a more specific approach to the problem:

Such topics as guidance, placement, employment supervision, vocational analysis, cumulative school records, vocational guidance surveys, and vocation bureaus will be studied.

Columbia University's first course in vocational guidance was begun in February, 1913, under Professor Frederick G. Bonser and special lecturers. It counted for credit, graduate or undergraduate. The announcement reads:

Problems and methods in the study of vocations, the making of educational surveys, and the study of vocational aptitudes and tendencies—vocational analysis; sources, kinds, values, and uses of vocational information; function of general school work in vocational guidance; the work of vocational bureaus, and of vocational advisers and counselors—placement and follow up; vocational education in New York City, vocational guidance in New York City and other centers of its development in the United States.

A. Introductory: Causes for movement for vocational guidance, problems, methods of procedure.

B. Vocational educational survey: Studies of vocations, studies of children.

C. Meeting the situation revealed by the survey: Functions of the school; agencies auxiliary to the school; vocation bureaus, vocational counselors; the economic factor in better prevocational education for children, further education for young workers—removing economic necessity for working early, scholarships, pensions.

D. Unification of methods of solving vocational guidance problems.

In 1913 the University of Missouri offered a course, as follows:

Vocational Guidance—This course attempts to work out in some detail a definite plan for vocational guidance in the high school. . . . Twice a week (1 towards B.S. in Education). J. D. Elliff.

It is remarkable that within five years after 1908 vocational guidance courses were being offered for credit in several universities; the movement thus early won a definite educational standing.

Under other auspices. The training of counselors was being promoted by certain business organizations, as well as by colleges and universities, also within five years after the beginning of the movement. Apparently businessmen were quick to recognize the value of counseling in its bearing on candidates for employment. In 1913-14 the Employment Managers' Association of Boston announced a course on The Theory and Practice of Vocational Guidance given by the Vocation Bureau of Boston and Boston University. According to a folder describing it the course the preceding year had an enrollment of twenty-nine. Meyer Bloomfield, Director of the Vocation Bureau and Special Professor of Vocational Guidance at Boston University, was the instructor. This course is listed in the Boston University year book of 1914-15 under extension courses for teachers—not designed for regular study in the College of Liberal Arts.

A year course for those desiring to become vocational counselors was planned by the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston for 1914. It included research into industrial occupations, economics, and statistics, to be given by the appointment bureau of the organization, and to be offered to college graduates and experienced teachers.

Later courses. In 1913 the Record of the *Vocational Bureau of Boston* stated, "The publications of the Vocational Bureau are in use as textbooks and reference material in over one hundred universities, colleges, vocational schools, public school systems, and other institutions." The publications then included eight occupational studies, and books by Parsons and Bloomfield. In 1915 it was stated, "Nearly a score of colleges, universities, and other institutions are conducting specific or part-time courses in vocational guidance."¹

Each year saw rapid strides in the spread of training for vocational guidance work. The summer of 1915 found Jesse B. Davis of Grand Rapids giving a six-weeks course at the University of Minnesota for training teachers and counselors in the work of vocational and moral guidance, and Meyer Bloomfield teaching an advanced course in vocational guidance at the summer session of the University of California. Bloomfield was scheduled for a general and a specialized course in vocational guidance at Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1916-17; he continued his work at the Vocational Bureau and Boston University as well.

In the summer of 1916 John M. Brewer gave two courses in vocational guidance at Harvard University, and in September as instructor in education began work in the Division of Education on the following plan:

Principles of Vocational Guidance. Factors in the choice of occupation; the influence of vocational requirements on school programs and methods of teaching; duties and opportunities of teachers, school officers, parents, employers, and others in vocational guidance; the functions of the vocational counselor. Lectures, readings, reports, discussions, opportunities for participation in counseling.

Problems in Vocational Guidance. Research in a problem selected by the student. Lectures, investigations, reports, discussions. A survey of significant questions in vocational guidance.

W. A. Wheatley of Middletown, Connecticut, under whose direction a high-school course in occupations was given in 1908, co-author

¹ *Vocational Guidance and the Work of the Vocational Bureau of Boston* (1915).

of *Occupations, a Textbook in Vocational Guidance* (1916), gave a course at the New York University Summer School in 1916.

In 1918-19 Eli Weaver of Brooklyn, who had issued two books on occupations, began six years of work at Teachers College, Columbia University. At first one course was given by him, with Professors Snedden and Bonser co-operating; later Arthur F. Payne succeeded Weaver. Beginning in 1919-20 Weaver gave a summer course on Vocational Guidance and Employment Supervision. In 1920-21 a second winter course and a second summer course were added, Special Problems in Vocational Guidance and The Supervision of Working Children.

In 1918 two summer courses were given by Brewer at the University of California at Berkeley; one, the Principles and Practices of Vocational Guidance, included the following topics:

Educational guidance, vocational guidance in elementary, intermediate, and high school, guidance in industry, subject matter and method of life-career class, care of children who leave school for work; labor conditions as related to vocational guidance, problems in vocational guidance arising out of the war.

At the University of California Summer Session at Los Angeles one course in vocational guidance was given; at the University of Southern California Summer Session in Los Angeles there was a course for teachers who wished to counsel, and vocational guidance was a topic in another course. Classes were offered in the College of the City of New York under I. David Cohen in 1920. A few other early teachers of vocational guidance follow: Anna Y. Reed at Chicago and at New York University, Arthur J. Jones at Pennsylvania, Robert J. Leonard and Edwin A. Lee at California, Harold L. Holbrook at Pennsylvania State, W. B. Jones at Pittsburgh, Leona C. Buchwald at Johns Hopkins, Clarence E. Partch at Northwest Missouri State Teachers College, William M. Proctor at Stanford, Richard D. Allen at Brown and at Harvard, A. H. Edgerton at Wisconsin, George E. Myers at Michigan, Harry D. Kitson at Indiana and at Columbia, Fred C. Smith at Harvard, Harold P. Thomas at Missouri, Ralph L. Jacobs at Cincinnati, May Rogers Lane at Oswego Teachers College, Rex B. Cunliffe at Detroit, Susan J. Ginn at Rutgers, G. Vernon Bennett at Southern California, E. W. Boshart at North Carolina State, D. W. Hamilton at Washington, Grayson N. Kefauver at Minnesota, Roy W. Kelly at Har-

vard, and Frederick J. Allen at Boston University. Doubtless many other names should be added.

Special mention should be made of city directors, who often organized formal or informal courses of study for their co-workers and frequently too were called upon to give talks to university classes. Probably all the directors engaged in these activities; especially did Dr. Woolley and Miss Campbell of Cincinnati, Mrs. Burdick of Des Moines, Dr. Reed of Seattle, Miss Davis of Chicago, Dickson of Oakland—indeed all those we have named in Chapter 8.

The Vocational Guidance Magazine in January, 1925, stated that from thirty to fifty colleges would during the summer offer courses in vocational guidance. At the 1928 national convention it was reported that there were something like seventy courses in this field in colleges and universities. For the summer of 1941 two hundred and sixty-four courses were reported at fifty-two institutions.

Teachers' colleges, too, undertook training. C. E. Partch reported (*School and Society*, February 11, 1928) that in 1922 only three such colleges offered courses in vocational guidance, but that in 1927 eleven out of seventy normal schools and twenty out of seventy-five teachers' colleges each included one or more courses.

Comprehensive preparation of counselors. By 1938 about a score of these institutions had each set up a curriculum of courses leading to professional work in personnel or guidance or both. Such curriculums were likely to include besides an introductory unit such courses as testing and measurement, collection and use of occupational information, analysis of the individual, counseling, practice in testing and counseling, and organization and administration.

Various forms of "in service" training have been inaugurated, as for example, at Providence, where Allen devised about 1930 a plan by which counselors join a series of groups for the study of all phases and all levels of the work.

Certification of counselors. We have omitted the investigation of the beginnings of certification. The Boston rule of 1915, mentioned in Chapter 7, is doubtless the first, though Richards, Parsons, and others had outlined desirable specifications previously. Steady progress in Boston included graduate study, examinations, and special classification. Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, California, and doubtless several other states early recognized the new profession of vocational counselor, and provided methods of certification. Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Baltimore, and other cities likewise provided a distinct classification; some of them offered

salary differentials equal to that of head of department in a secondary school.

Literature on the work of vocational guidance. An astonishing amount of vocational guidance literature has appeared in the last thirty years. Occupational information pamphlets, surveys of industries, studies of children, vocational tests, research reports, textbooks for the young and for counselors, and bibliographies have been rapidly provided.

Occupational information. Publications of the Vocation Bureau of Boston have been noted in Chapter 6; those of other cities in Chapter 8. Vocational bulletins issued by the Appointment Bureau of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston, and typed bibliographies, seldom more than a page long, were among the first occupational leaflets. In 1912 a score of bulletins on various occupations had been prepared and circulated by the Students' Aid Committee of the New York High School Teachers' Association. A few such leaflets were advertised in the *Vocational Guidance Bulletin*, published from 1915 to 1918.

Typical of materials being prepared in many communities was the booklet *Vocations for the Trained Woman*, prepared by Agnes F. Perkins of Wellesley College and issued by the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston; also *Choosing an Occupation*, by Florence M. Brewer, issued in 1911 by the board of education of Poughkeepsie.

In Brooklyn, Pittsburgh, and other cities, librarians and others issued brief bibliographies within five years of Parsons.

What was long accepted as the best occupational bibliography, *A Guide to the Study of Occupations*, was issued by Frederick J. Allen in 1921 and revised in 1925. In it occupations are classified according to census divisions, with references to material on three hundred occupations.

The Law as a Vocation (1913) by Allen is called, in the Brewer and Kelly bibliography discussed below, a model of scientific investigation and judicious exposition. His book *The Shoe Industry* (1922) is valuable in that it offered a good report of an important industry, a good plan to be followed in studying other industries, and a forecast of the future of the industry to guide an ambitious youth in planning his career wisely.

Many and varied were the occupational leaflets issued, in series of from approximately three to twenty-five numbers, by schools, cities, and independent organizations before 1925. One of the early uni-

versity occupational leaflets was Katherine Olmsted's *Nursing as a Vocation for Women*, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin (1916). A number of vocational series, most of them with city or university backing, were published between 1921 and 1925. *Women and Personnel Work* (1921) was the first of a series of vocational folders prepared by Barbara H. Wright, fellow in research at the Women's Educational and Industrial Union. The *Bulletin* of August, 1921, reported that more than one hundred different occupations had been analyzed in occupational studies under Morris E. Siegel, Director of Evening and Continuation Schools in New York. Publications of the Women's Occupational Bureau of Minneapolis between 1919 and 1925 included studies of executive and buying positions, library work, nursing, social work, clerical and secretarial work, and banking. During the same years the Cincinnati public schools' Vocation Bureau put out five occupational pamphlets, four of which were on the shoe, garment, metal, and baking industries of Cincinnati. Under Harry D. Kitson as adviser, Indiana University in co-operation with the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce issued a vocational information series of seven numbers in 1923-24; the subjects were: women in telephone service, department store service, nursing, banking, teaching, the printing trades, and journalism. The trade and industry series published by the Wisconsin State Board of Vocational Education in 1924 consisted of six issues, dealing with auto mechanics, bricklaying, patternmaking, electricity, printing, and cabinetmaking. The Chicago Board of Education studied five occupations in 1924, including the artificial flower industry, photography, and beginning office positions. The 1925 folder series of its Vocational Guidance Department had twenty-six topics, including advertising, employment manager, and business executive. A "Bibliography of Occupational Studies" by Mary Stewart, Assistant to the Director General in charge of Junior Work, United States Employment Service, was announced in the May, 1923 issue of the *National Vocational Guidance Association Bulletin*. In 1925 May Rogers Lane, research secretary of the White-Williams Foundation of Philadelphia, issued a bibliography of pamphlet series produced by public schools and one on materials by government agencies during the period 1920-25. Apparently there were in 1925 many up-to-date studies of occupations in the United States. In 1927 Miss Lane put her materials into book form: *Occupational Studies*, a critical survey of materials issued between 1920 and 1926. This book contains much of historical interest.

Criteria for occupational studies. Frederick J. Allen's article (*Vocational Guidance Magazine*, April, 1925) stressed the importance of occupational studies and pointed out that the right kind of vocational information for use in vocational guidance should come from as many sources as an impartial, disinterested, discriminating investigator can reach. He recommended that the executive committee of the Occupational Research Section of the national association organize a much needed clearance service. This section of the association held two meetings at the 1932 annual convention, and in 1933 issued this list of considerations basic to its program with regard to books, pamphlets, and leaflets:

1. Clarification of the classifications of occupations.
2. Clarification and evaluation of all books, pamphlets, and leaflets.
3. Clarification of the classes of readers to be reached.
4. Clarification of the type of publications and media best suited for reaching each audience.
5. Determination and standardization of the effective forms of presentation of occupational information.

In the October, 1933, issue of *Occupations* three occupational bibliographies, the one by Allen in 1921, that of the University of Michigan of 1928, and one containing eighteen hundred references dealing with occupations for women, compiled by Chase Going Woodhouse and Ruth Yoernans in 1929, were said to be up to that time the principal guides for counselors and librarians in recommending reading matter to classes in occupations and to individuals. In 1936 Willard E. Parker issued through the National Occupational Conference and the American Library Association a new bibliography of nine thousand references on five hundred and fifty callings, *Books about Jobs*, the result of a "careful and painstaking review" of job information published during the preceding years. This was followed by a monthly leaflet called *Occupational Index*, to add current new material to supplement the book.

Educational and occupational surveys. Many educational and occupational surveys have been made, most of them for the cause of vocational education. Ryan cites thirteen, from that of the Massachusetts Commission on Industrial and Technical Education (1906) to the 1911-16 Chicago study (United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 24, 1918); among them, 2,366 Cincinnati children were studied in 1912, 302 New York children the same year, and in 1911-12 the placement of 4,386 St. Louis children. In the early *Bul-*

letin (1915-18) many such studies were announced. In Pasadena in 1915 a vocational survey was made. Three of the five notes on Recent Articles and Studies in the June, 1915, issue were on surveys: one a survey of Indiana occupations, another a study of eight hundred Iowa boys, a third a survey of manual and industrial training in the United States. A study of opportunities for vocational education in and near Philadelphia, consisting of a classified list of schools under three headings—industrial, commercial, and professional—with alphabetical indexes of subjects taught and institutions, was announced in the July-August number.

Surveys made in the years just prior to the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act were outstanding. They were of Minneapolis (1915), Richmond, Virginia (1916), Indiana (1916), and Cleveland (1916). Though made for vocational education rather than for guidance they had great significance for the latter; the Minneapolis report was later printed in separate chapters for the use of pupils; e.g., "The Community Wash Tub," for the laundry industry.

Meanwhile certain pitfalls were being observed. It was pointed out in the *Vocational Summary* (December, 1919) that much time and money have been spent in determining quantitatively facts that were already perfectly well known qualitatively, and in determining information that had been already made a matter of official record by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, State Labor Departments, school departments, industrial welfare commissions, chambers of commerce, and the like. One example was cited: in New England such large numbers of children leave school for work at fourteen that it is a serious community problem; whether it be seventy-five or eighty per cent of the school population of that grade is immaterial. It was pointed out further that there has been a tendency to collect statistics and neglect factors involving economic or social opposition. For example, in a community where a girls' trade school was established as a result of a survey, parents were unwilling to enroll their daughters in the school. Instead they let them drop out of school into low-paid industrial occupations. This community attitude might have been sensed, and, instead of a trade school, trade-extension instruction could have been offered to girls after they were employed.

The Prospect Union Educational Exchange of Cambridge, Massachusetts, was established in 1893 to offer training courses for working men and women who had not had a high-school education. Beginning with 1923 it has published a catalogue, *Educational Opportunities in Greater Boston*, listing approximately four thousand

courses in seven hundred subjects. Agencies of other cities perform a similar service.

Training for Professions and Allied Occupations Available to Women in the United States was issued in 1924 by the Bureau of Vocational Information of New York; the association's magazine reported it to be the most extensive piece of work by this useful bureau.

Bibliographies on vocational guidance. Bibliographies kept pace with the growing literature in the early years of the movement. That of the Vocation Bureau of Boston in 1910 was probably the earliest.

The Brooklyn Public Library issued a bibliography in 1913; in the same year Fitchburg, Massachusetts, issued a small printed list of references, and the Carnegie Library in Pittsburgh published *Vocational Guidance, a Reading List*. The bibliography of the Grand Rapids Library was distributed through Davis's *Educational and Moral Guidance* of 1914. Another was published by the University of Chicago in 1915.

A "Bureau of Education Bibliography in Vocational Guidance," compiled by W. Carson Ryan, Jr., was announced in the June-July, 1916, *Vocational Guidance Bulletin*; it was then in the form of thirty-one large mimeographed pages, circulated in that form in order that it might have the scrutiny of librarians, schoolmen, and vocational guidance workers before being issued more formally. This material was later used in Ryan's 1918 report. A bibliography by James Sullivan was published in 1916 by the University of the State of New York.

The California State Board of Education published a bibliography by Charles L. Jacobs in 1916: the one hundred books he considered best in the field arranged in three groups in what was to him their order of importance. In 1921 the same author prepared a bibliography for the Federal Board of Vocational Education, which was revised by Mrs. Jacobs and by Anna L. Burdick, special agent of the Board in industrial education for girls and women.

A Selected Critical Bibliography of Vocational Guidance by John M. Brewer and Roy Willmarth Kelly was published by Harvard University in 1917. The *Bulletin* said of it:

Labeled "selected" and "critical," it is certainly both. The comments on individual references are often sharp, always stimulating and never ill-natured. Not the least valuable feature of it . . . from a constructive point of view, is the section entitled "A Reading Course in Vocational Guidance."

Samples of other writings. In addition to early occupational information and annotated bibliographies, the reader will find of interest books on the different aspects of vocational guidance written by early leaders of the movement. Parsons' *Choosing a Vocation* (1909), the earliest book written from the point of view of the movement, is interesting because of the cases of counseling cited; the first two parts are on studying the individual and studying industries. Bloomfield's *The Vocational Guidance of Youth* (1911) was incorporated into *Youth, School, and Vocation* (1915). The latter volume describes in detail the activities of the Boston Vocation Bureau and outlines the work in Cincinnati, Newton, and the Henry Street Settlement in New York. It treats too of vocational guidance in Europe. Bloomfield's *Readings in Vocational Guidance* (1915) is a valuable collection of forty early articles, addresses, and investigations. Jesse B. Davis's *Vocational and Moral Guidance* (1914) is one of the best of the early books in the field. His viewpoint on moral guidance is stated thus:

The word guidance has a broad significance. From the vocational point of view it means the gradual unfolding of the pupil's better understanding of himself; it means the opening of his eyes to the broad field of opportunity in the world; it means the selection of and the preparation for his own best field of service as a social being. Ethical instruction that merely informs the mind does not necessarily produce better character . . . In this connection, guidance means the pupil's better understanding of his own character; it means a conception of himself as a social being in some future occupation, and from this view-point, the appreciation of his duty and obligation toward his business associates, toward his neighbors, and the law.

When Brewer and Kelly issued their bibliography (1917) it was almost possible for one person to read all the literature on guidance; in recent years the multiplication of materials is surprising enough. A brief glance at that pamphlet or at the bibliography in *The Vocational Guidance Movement* (1918) and Ryan's longer list in his Bureau of Education pamphlet (1918) will yield some interesting reminders of other valuable early writings:

Magnus Alexander's study of waste in hiring and discharging; the first volume on employment problems, issued by the American Academy of Political and Social Science; Ayers' striking articles on retardation; Bonser's valuable arguments for better industrial arts; studies of school leaving by Breckenridge and Abbott, and Anne Davis; Burk's indict-

ment of the "lockstep"; Philip Davis's studies of street boys and *Fields of Social Service*; Eliot's "Life-career Motive"; Feiss's reports on steady employment; Gilbreth on scientific management; Gruenberg's pleas for scientific methods; Hill on vocational guidance in the south; Hollingworth on tests; Hopkins on the unemployed; Jacobs' reports of California experiments; Kelly's *Hiring the Worker*, first book in its field by one author; Kitson's "tenable theory"; Leavitt's excellent articles; Lewis's studies in Iowa; Mann's emphasis on character in success; Prosser's plea for revision of manual training; Puffer's large plans; Mrs. Reed's Seattle reports; Richards' outline of occupational study; Schneider's argument for co-operative education; Scott's "influencing men"; Seashore's musical tests; Spaulding's helpful article; Stimson's "home project plan" in agriculture; Taylor's scientific management; Thompson's report for Boston; Thorndike's studies of interests; Thum's plan for work-study plan, 30 years before the NYA; Valentine's plea for work based on consent; Van Denburg on school leaving; Mary Van Kleeck's reports on labor conditions; Weaver on vocations; Wheatley on the school study of occupations; Woods on unguided ability; Mrs. Woolley on Cincinnati children; McCracken and Lamb on *Occupational Information in the Elementary School*; beginnings reported by Horton, Giles, and Bate.

The above are a few samples of the writing during the first years after Parsons. About half of them would never have been written if it had not been for the work of Parsons and Bloomfield.

Obviously we cannot here survey this literature or the vast extension of it after 1918. All phases of vocational guidance have since been extensively explored, and such exploration must be repeated in improved form for all the future decades.

Need for standards. A new movement must at first pull itself up by its bootstraps. But at the present writing the oncoming generation of workers will be well equipped to prepare counselors and to write the necessary books; they will have submitted their ideas to the criticism of good teachers and practitioners of vocational guidance and they will have prepared their theses or other first writings under the same critical eyes. The early workers were without these advantages.

Not only so, but the fields of guidance and vocational guidance have attracted the attention of some persons who evidence little but industry and enthusiasm in their writings, educationalists who have climbed on the new bandwagon without paying much fare. They have produced some thin books. It is to be expected that the national

association, university authorities, and the professional teachers themselves will set up and maintain standards both for the qualifications and preparation of certificated counselors and for the writings used in such preparation. Some good work has already been begun along these lines; more care is needed.

The Application of Psychology to Vocational Guidance

FUNDAMENTAL to any system of vocational guidance is an analysis of a young person's abilities and preferences that may have a bearing on his success. And it is also necessary to couple this understanding with an understanding of the abilities and other requirements in each field of work. Realizing that an analysis of individual abilities based on observation and interview alone lacks sufficient dependability, counselors have endeavored to devise systems whereby they might better estimate the qualities of a youth. Thus Hugo Münsterberg¹ gives an indication of Parsons' interest in a scientific analysis of individual abilities:

Even Parsons turned to little experimental inquiries in which he simplified some well-known methods of the laboratory in order to secure with the most elementary means a certain objective foundation for his mental analysis. For instance, he sometimes examined the memory by reading to the boys graded sentences containing from ten to fifty words and having them repeat what they remembered, or he measured with a watch the rapidity of reading and writing, or he determined the sensitiveness for the discrimination of differences by asking them to make a point with a pencil in the center of circles of various sizes.

Parsons also used a long questionnaire to discover the habits, emotions, traits, inclinations, and interests of the boys who came to him for vocational guidance.

Early analysis of the individual. Prior to the work of Parsons psychologists had for many years been engaged in the study of individual differences. Alfred Weber (1795-1878), G. T. Fechner (1801-1887), and W. M. Wundt (1832-1920) during the nineteenth century had accomplished much in laying the foundation stones of the science of experimental psychology.² Studying first the differences in sensory discrimination these and other psychologists were able to define the experimental technique that would later

¹ *Psychology and Industrial Efficiency* (1913), pp. 45-46.

² For details of the early history of psychology see G. Murphy, *An Historical Introduction to Modern Psychology* (1929); W. B. Pillsbury, *The History of Psychology* (1929); and E. G. Boring, *History of Experimental Psychology* (1929).

assist psychologists in analyzing mental processes. One of the first instances of the application of scientific methods to the study of the so-called higher thought processes was the work of Ebbinghaus (1850-1909), who published in 1885 the results of his experimentation with memory.³ Since an understanding of the higher thought processes is essential to an understanding of vocational abilities the work of Ebbinghaus and his contemporaries is basic to later vocational analyses. That psychology's early study of individual differences would at some time help in the solution of vocational problems was realized as early as the middle of the nineteenth century by the English psychologist, Sir Francis Galton (1822-1911). His interest in the nature and derivation of vocational abilities was related to his interest in the application of statistics to problems of eugenics and heredity and the problems of the "man of the street." Believing in the existence of native traits that could bring about success in one job and failure in another, Galton was firmly convinced of the inheritance of general abilities that could condition occupational success.⁴

This interest in individual differences paralleled a growing interest in individual differences in other fields of study. In the school-room such teachers as Pestalozzi, Rousseau, Dewey, Burk, and Montessori were advocating further consideration of the natural differences among students. In sociology a new care was being afforded the feeble-minded, the insane, the criminal, and the poverty-stricken.

Psychology in industry. Psychology's growing interest in individual differences and its desire to apply its scientific principles to more and more fields of human endeavor led first to the use of its laws and experimental technique for purposes of vocational selection and adjustment of workers to the job, and gradually to vocational guidance. The science of industrial psychology has grown to include an analysis of the requirements of various jobs so that tests for scientific selection of workers might be made possible, investigation of the best methods of applying human energy with special attention to the elimination of unnecessary motion, distribution of rest periods, increase of interest and reduction of monotony, investigation of the most scientific methods of lighting, ventilation, wage payment, labor representation, and management of all human rela-

³ Kimball Young, "The History of Mental Testing," *Pedagogical Seminary* (1924), p. 7.

⁴ Francis Galton, *Hereditary Genius: An Inquiry into Its Laws and Consequences* (2nd revised ed., 1892; reprinted 1914). Also *Inquiries in Human Faculty and Its Development* (1908).

tions between workers and employers, training of workers on the job, and the study of factors influencing the sale of products.⁵

All of these functions are indirectly related to vocational guidance. Both vocational selection and guidance in the choice of a vocation require a comparison of the applicant's vocational abilities with the abilities necessary in a particular job; hence experimentation along one of these lines is closely related to that in the other.

The present science of industrial psychology has its roots in several different types of experimentation. Scientific management and control of time intervals in factory work was foreshadowed by Dupin in 1829 and Babbage⁶ in 1832, and was climaxed with the work of Frederick W. Taylor in the early part of the twentieth century and his overemphasis on the machinelike efficiency of each worker. Psychologists also investigated problems of bodily fatigue during the latter part of the nineteenth century,⁷ and made preliminary studies of occupational learning.⁸

Early mental measurement in the field of industry. Probably one of the earliest recorded instances of the psychological investigation of an industrial problem was the work of J. M. Lahy in France in 1905. At that time he investigated the psychophysiological traits required for success in typewriting by giving a variety of tests to good, poor, and average operators. Tests which correlated highest with typewriting efficiency, he found, were those for memory span, tactile and muscular sensibility, sustained attention, and equality of strength in two hands.⁹ This experiment is important not so much for the value of its findings but because it helped to determine the technique and set the goal for the enormous movement of psychological testing in industry that was to follow.

Basic to this test and to later experimentation in vocational selection is the theory that, if a number of individuals rate high in a

⁵These functions of industrial psychology were formulated by the National Institute of Industrial Psychology in London and have appeared on the cover of its publication, *The Human Factor*.

⁶Morris S. Viteles, *Industrial Psychology*, pp. 9ff., and Charles Babbage, *The Economy of Manufacture* (London, 1832), cited from C. B. Thompson, *Scientific Management* (1914), pp. 4-6.

⁷Angelo Mosso (1888); E. J. Marey (1904); Josefa Ioteyko (1904); and Antoine Imbert-Gourbeyre (1907).

⁸N. Harter and W. L. Bryan, "Studies in the Physiology and Psychology of the Telegraphic Language," *Psychological Review*, 1897, pp. 27-53; W. F. Book, *The Psychology of Skill* (1908).

⁹"Les Conditions psycho-physiologiques de l'aptitude au travail dactylographique," *Journal de physiologie et pathologie*, Vol. XV (1913), pp. 826-835, cited from Viteles, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

test and at the same time are relatively successful in their common occupation, the same psychological functions are responsible for each. A test, therefore, that has been found to "measure" this same function by its close correlation with the occupational success of the group should theoretically be a good means of selecting those workers who will be most efficient on the job. It is a comparatively simple task to draw up and standardize a test, provided the test is closely related to the task concerned—being analogous to, being a miniature of, or involving some of the same fundamental operations as the task. In this case the worker is mature, his abilities have been developed and knowledge acquired, and motivation is no longer a problem for the tester.

The vocational counselor, on the other hand, is hindered by the immaturity of the child's abilities, his limited understanding of the occupational world, personality difficulties accompanying adolescence, lack of motivation, and the impossibility of setting up a series of tests that would be analogous to or miniatures of every detailed job open to the young person. Nor can the testing program in vocational guidance consist of a mere series of vocational selection tests. The counselor must consider the whole individual, who must be measured and sampled in all the varied aspects of his individuality. Abilities as they apply to his vocational success must be considered in relation to each other and in relation to a total pattern. These abilities cannot be isolated and measured without some assurance that the total individual has been measured. The sum of the parts is not always the whole.

Important in the history of industrial psychology is Hugo Münsterberg, who in *Psychology and Industrial Efficiency*, published in Germany in 1912 and in America the following year, reported the results of a series of selection experiments among motormen, telephone operators, and ship officers. In this volume he did much to stimulate psychologists and to define the goal of industrial psychology, though his measures proved largely invalid. He realized early the value of a true vocational adjustment:

And above all, still more important than the naked commercial profit on both sides, is the cultural gain which will come to the total economic life of the nation, as soon as every one can be brought to the place where his best energies may be unfolded and his greatest personal satisfaction secured (p. 308).

He was perhaps over enthusiastic as to the possibility of a new

science that would permit vocational analyses to be made by exact, scientific, experimental research. Like many others early interested in the possibilities of combining psychology and vocational guidance he sought for a scientific instrument capable of making an individual's vocational choice for him. These early scientists, however, neglected the study of occupations, the responsibility of an individual for his own choice, the art of counseling, and the complexity of human nature which could never permit vocational guidance to become an automatic scientific procedure. In truth, they were more interested in *selection* than in guidance.¹⁰ Whether any of these researches were suggested by the work of Parsons is a moot question, with the probabilities on the affirmative. Münsterberg knew much of Parsons' work and twice stated that a psychologist should have charge of the Vocation Bureau.

Experimentation at the Carnegie Institute of Technology. Before the United States entered the First World War the science of industrial psychology had made great progress, as is evidenced not only by the wealth of experimental material being published but in the organization of associations for the advancement of the science and in the appearance of new journals and magazines devoted to the experimental reports. Among the organizations founded to advance the work of industrial psychology in England was the Health of Munitions Workers Committee organized in 1915, which led to the National Institute of Industrial Psychology. In the United States in 1915 a Division of Applied Psychology was organized at the Carnegie Institute of Technology, with Walter V. Bingham as director, to investigate problems of personnel research, salesmanship, and vocational guidance. Out of this group the Division of Co-operative Research later developed. J. B. Miner, J. R. Zerber, Katherine Murdock, and L. L. Thurstone joined Bingham the same year, followed later by Walter Dill Scott, G. M. Whipple, W. W. Charters, B. Ruml, Kate Gordon, Thelma Gwinn, W. B. Jones, Edwin A. Lee, D. R. Craig, M. Ream, C. F. Hansen, C. S. Yoakum, E. K. Strong, Jr., Marion Bills, B. V. Moore, M. Freyd, A. W. Beatty, D. L. Hoopingarner, L. R. Frazier, H. G. Kenagy, H. W. Hepner, Grace Manson, A. W. Kornhauser, G. U. Cleeton, R. S. Uhrbrock,

¹⁰ Other early experiments of importance in the history of industrial psychology are: H. C. McComas, "Some Tests for Efficiency in Telephone Operating," *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Method*, Nov. 1914; E. S. Jones, "The Woolley Test Series Applied to the Detection of Ability in Telegraphy," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Aug. 1917; Walter Dill Scott, "The Scientific Selection of Salesmen," *Advertising and Selling*, Vol. XXV (1915).

Mary La Dame, O. R. Johnson, O. P. Pearson, and others. Miner had early developed a questionnaire on interests, the forerunner of Strong's later researches; Scott was director and Bingham secretary for the Committee on the Classification of Personnel in the United States Army, 1917-18. In the progress made in the development of rating scales, psychological tests, trade tests, and interest inventories the work of this group of men has proved an enormous stimulus to vocational guidance.¹¹ The Psychological Corporation, an association of psychologists founded in 1921 by J. McKeen Cattell, and the Personnel Research Federation founded by Bingham and others in 1923 have both extended their fields of research to include all phases of industrial psychology and to some extent vocational guidance.

Testing during the First World War. The 1914-18 war gave a decided impetus to the testing movement. Much of the experimental material derived from this extensive testing program pertains to problems of vocational psychology and vocational guidance. A group test of intelligence, the Army Alpha, was devised, after which have been patterned many of our group intelligence tests for use in guidance programs.¹² The study of intelligence levels in various occupations has been of significance in pointing out not so much the average intelligence of each occupation as the range of intelligence within each occupation. There was some experimentation in weighting a group of tests in order to predict vocational ability in the selection of potential aviators. This attempt to predict is in itself significant to vocational guidance. A system of qualification cards and personnel blanks was developed and has since served as the basis of our present personnel work. Tests were devised for measuring skill in the various trades. These tests were of three kinds: questions on materials, tools, and processes (what to do), questions based on pictures, and performance assignments. Scores gave a fourfold classification in some eighty occupations: novices, apprentices, journeymen, and experts. In 1941 this work was revived and extended, again

¹¹ The work has been described in a report published by the Institute, W. V. Bingham's *Publications in Applied Psychology by Members of the Staff of Carnegie Institute of Technology, 1916-1923* (1923). The researches of these men were applied in the war for the development of measuring instruments, and the war experience was later capitalized for work in industrial personnel and in guidance. See too C. S. Yoakum's "Basic Experiments in Guidance," *Journal of Personnel Research* (later the *Personnel Journal*), May 1922.

¹² The Army Beta test was devised as a test for the non-English-speaking recruits; it was administered by signs made by the examiner. For the full story of personnel in the army see references in Chapter 9.

as part of the Army program, by some of the same men (notably Colonel Bingham) who served in the former war.

In addition to psychological and trade tests, rating scales were set up to obtain a rough measurement of traits for which tests were not available.

Earliest efforts to measure for guidance. One of the earliest instances of the construction of a test for purposes of vocational guidance was the job psychograph arranged by Carl E. Seashore for the vocation of a singer, reported in *Science* in 1912. Later work continued the analysis of this vocation and devised further the means of measuring aptitudes for music; these are still in wide use. (*The Psychology of Musical Talent*, 1919.)

Helen T. Woolley began in March, 1911, a study of children leaving school to enter employment; case records of each child were made and scores in a series of intelligence, cancellation, memory, and other tests were recorded. Occupational experiences were studied and the results compared with case and testing records. Working children were found inferior to school children in logical thinking and in good command of language. This research is important in our history because it was apparently the earliest attempt to relate occupational records with the results of psychological testing. Speaking at the second conference, Dr. Woolley recommended that a psychology laboratory be attached to the vocation bureau of the schools, in spite of the fact that "experimental psychology is as yet a coarse and clumsy tool, attacking a very difficult, delicate, complex problem." At that time, she believed, teachers of a school system could furnish information about pupils that would be as trustworthy as the psychological tests.

Psychology had made so little progress at that date that Leonard Ayres was probably justified when in 1913 he attempted to quench the fires of enthusiasm springing up in all parts of the country for the use of tests,¹³ as evidenced in the following quotation:

Up to the present time none [of the tests for the selection of position for people] has been developed, although expressions of a longing for them and faith that they will ultimately be discovered are features of the literature of the vocational guidance movement.

Theories of psychologists as to the nature of abilities. Early experimenters seemed to believe that a law of compensation permits

¹³ Leonard P. Ayres, "Psychological Tests in Vocational Guidance," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, April, 1913.

an individual to excel in several traits because he is weak in several others. Thorndike disagreed with this theory; on the basis of several experiments he had come to believe that desirable traits within an individual exist in a positive relation to each other and that consequently if a person is good in one thing it is more than probable that he will be good in other things (*Individuality*, 1911, page 26). Thorndike later gives evidence of a somewhat different theory, upholding three kinds of intelligence—social, mechanical, and abstract—each of which may be unrelated to the others (“Intelligence and Its Uses,” *Harper’s Magazine*, January, 1920).

Sir Francis Galton as far back as the middle of the nineteenth century believed that there were certain traits which because of their close correlation with general intelligence could be used to predict it. Good sensory discrimination was supposedly one of these traits, and its measurement was therefore a measurement of intelligence.

In sharp contrast to the generally accepted theory of intelligence as a generalization resulting from a number of specific abilities is the theory of Spearman that general intelligence exists apart from but underlying and basic to special abilities. A compromise was later effected between these two widely different theories, but there still remains for psychologists the problem of detecting what part of a test score is the result of general intelligence and what part represents the ability being tested. If general intelligence is really a composite of special abilities, are our intelligence tests measuring intelligence in all its manifestations? If general intelligence is apart from special abilities, an underlying element, can vocational counselors be sure their tests for special abilities are not measuring general intelligence?

These various theories of Thorndike, Galton, and others who philosophized as to the nature of the intellect represent for us an important phase in the history of the application of psychology to vocational guidance.

General intelligence in vocational testing. Since the latter part of the nineteenth century psychologists have experimented in search of a single, general ability called intelligence which could be measured and given a quantitative symbol to represent a person’s general innate capacity. In 1889 C. Rieger proposed a method of testing intelligence which is one of the earliest attempts at such measurements.¹⁴ Many crude measuring instruments have since been devised

¹⁴ Kimball Young, “The History of Mental Testing,” *Pedagogical Seminary*, 1924, p. 9.

and numerous attempts made to standardize tests on school children and the public in general.¹⁵ During this time methods of statistical treatment have been refined. Karl Pearson developed in London his correlation coefficient. The year 1905 marks the first appearance of the Binet-Simon test, the general intelligence test that was to revolutionize the testing movement and was probably the first systematic attempt to measure general intelligence by means of various higher thought processes rather than sensory capacities. While at work in Paris segregating feeble-minded children in the public schools Binet, assisted by Simon, was able to crystallize his belief that intelligence was a generalization of separate abilities more or less measurable.

The idea of mental measurement was new to the public. Criticism naturally resulted, in reply to which Binet wrote in 1905 in *L'Année psychologique* an article defining his belief in the value of mental measurement only for purposes of classification of individuals with reference to others.¹⁶

This scale properly speaking does not permit the measure of the intelligence, because intellectual qualities are not superposable, and therefore cannot be measured as linear surfaces are measured, but on the contrary, a classification, a hierarchy among diverse intelligences; and for the necessity of practice this classification is equivalent to measure.

American translations and revisions of the Binet-Simon test followed soon afterward, and wide use was given the test in American public schools and institutions for the feeble-minded. Henry H. Goddard's and Fred Kuhlman's revisions appeared in 1911, Terman's in 1912, and the Stanford revision in 1915. Louis William Stern had published in Germany in 1900 *The Psychology of Individual Differences* and in America in 1914 *The Psychological Methods of Testing Intelligence*, in which he suggested comparing mental growth with age; Terman proposed the idea of the intelligence quotient in 1916. By this time performance tests of intelligence had gained great popularity because they depended less on linguistic knowledge.¹⁷

¹⁵ J. Jastrow, "Some Anthropological and Psychological Tests on College Students; A Preliminary Survey," *American Journal of Psychology*, 1891-92, pp. 420-427; F. E. Bolton, "The Growth of Memory in School Children," *American Journal of Psychology*, 1892, pp. 362-380; J. A. Gilbert, "Researches on the Mental and Physical Development of School Children," *Yale Psychology Laboratory Studies*, 1894, pp. 40-100; J. McKeen Cattell, and Livingston Farrand, "Physical and Mental Measurements of the Students of Columbia University," *Psychological Review*, 1896, pp. 608-648.

¹⁶ Kimball Young, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁷ Wm. Healy and Walter Fernald, "Tests for Practical Mental Classification,"

During the early phases of testing for vocational selection, intelligence was considered the most important factor conditioning job success. Intelligence tests were widely used by employment managers and personnel directors for selecting employees, since intelligence test scores were often found to correlate highly with success in the job. Not knowing what the tests were measuring nor what abilities were required on the job, these personnel directors nevertheless found in the high correlations sufficient evidence of value. Scott and Whipple in 1916, Rogers in 1917,¹⁸ and many others gave an enthusiastic welcome to the use of intelligence for selection purposes. For some psychologists the use of intelligence tests was not even limited to white-collar jobs, which would appear to demand more of the intelligence measured by the usual group test, but was extended into the factory and into the trades. To be sure, there were many who disagreed as to the value of intelligence testing as a selection device. J. K. Flanders in 1918 found no correlation between success of express workers and results with the Stanford Binet.¹⁹ Yoakum and others likewise found the intelligence tests of no value. To others intelligence tests could be of use only in connection with the higher positions requiring executive ability.

These differences of opinion have been valuable; they have promoted dissatisfaction with theories on the nature of intelligence and the means of measurement. Only with such dissatisfaction will experimentation continue.

In 1918 the army published the results of its survey of intelligence levels in occupations represented by soldiers in the army. A

Psychological Review, Monograph, 1911; S. D. Porteus, "Mental Tests for Defectives," *Journal of Psycho-Asthen.*, 1915, pp. 200-213; "Motor-Intellectual Tests for Mental Defectives," *Journal of Experimental Pedagogy*, 1915-1916, pp. 127-235; Walter F. Dearborn and others, "Formboard and Construction Tests of Mental Ability," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Oct. 1916; R. Pitner and D. G. Paterson, *A Scale of Performance Tests* (1917); S. C. Kohs, *Intelligence Measurement* (1922).

¹⁸ W. D. Scott, "Selection of Employees by Quantitative Determinations," *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1916, pp. 182-193; G. M. Whipple, "The Use of Mental Tests in Vocational Guidance," *idem*, pp. 193-204; H. W. Rogers, "Psychological Tests for Typists and Stenographers," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1917, pp. 268-274.

¹⁹ J. K. Flanders, "Mental Tests of a Group of Employed Men Showing Correlations with Estimates Furnished by Employees," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1918, pp. 197-206; C. S. Yoakum, "Basic Experiments in Vocational Guidance," *Journal of Personnel Research*, May 1922, pp. 18-34; L. L. Thurstone, "Mental Tests for Prospective Telegraphers," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1919, pp. 110-117; A. S. Otis, "The Selection of Mill Workers by Mental Tests," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1920, pp. 339-341.

hierarchy of occupations resulted when the intelligence averages for these occupations were arranged in order. Many were enthusiastic over the guidance possibilities of such a list, but the intelligence levels were after all only averages and could not be used for guidance into specific occupations but only for guidance into general levels of occupational endeavor. Moreover it was soon noted that the overlapping among the various callings was very great.

William M. Proctor concluded in 1920, as the result of an experiment conducted among high-school pupils, that intelligence tests could be used only to differentiate between those of high and those of low intelligence and not to determine in what occupation a child belongs.²⁰

The employment of psychological tests as an aid in vocational guidance is in the early experimental stage, but sufficient progress has been made to justify their use in a negative way, i.e., as a means of discovering to the counselor the kinds of occupations that a given high school pupil would probably better avoid. They are also useful as a means of satisfying a counselor that a given pupil has the mental ability to engage in the occupation which he has chosen, providing other necessary factors conditioning success are present. In any case the counselor will do well to remember that he is dealing with probabilities and not with certainties.

Kitson later endorsed this use of intelligence tests in terms of probability.²¹ Since then it has been generally accepted that intelligence is only one of the factors contributing to occupational success.

Measurement of special abilities. Progress has been slow in the measurement of special abilities. As yet there is little scientific evidence as to the nature of these aptitudes, their appearance in youth, their fluctuation, their importance, and above all their identity. Vocational counselors are still uncertain as to what vocational abilities should be sampled in an ideal guidance testing program. They can only use tests that have proved of value. They must depend on questionnaires for further analysis.

Measurement of manual, mechanical, and spatial abilities. Mechanical ability, defined generally as the ability to work with objects

²⁰ "The Use of Psychological Tests in the Vocational Guidance of High School Pupils," *Journal of Educational Research*, Sept. 1920.

²¹ H. D. Kitson, *The Psychology of Vocational Adjustment* (1924), pp. 101-121. This book contains perhaps the earliest proposal for the use of probability tables in place of correlation coefficients. Thorndike once admitted to the present writer that such tables were more revealing than coefficients of correlations, but stated that since we had begun with the latter we would probably continue with them.

rather than with ideas, was the first ability recognized as apart from general intelligence. There has been more experimentation with the various manifestations of this ability than with any other special ability. Early workers with performance tests found that supposedly feeble-minded children would often do well in performance tests not based on a knowledge of linguistics. Refinement of the mechanical elements of these tests and further experimentation has since resulted in several fairly trustworthy tests.

John L. Stenquist in 1914 devised the first tests of mechanical aptitude, the Stenquist Construction Tests, which were revised later to become the Minnesota Assembly Tests. This device when used with a test of general intelligence becomes our first suggestion of a rough vocational guidance scheme.²² Although Stenquist's assembling and picture tests appear to require knowledge of mechanical principles rather than aptitude, it is assumed that a natural insight into mechanical laws and an interest in mechanical objects will have resulted in the necessary mechanical knowledge when the test is taken. An experiment by Stenquist with several hundred boys in New York City shows a low correlation between a composite intelligence score with a composite mechanical ability score, indicating that mechanical ability is distinct from general intelligence.²³

Several theories have been posited as to the nature of mechanical ability since this preliminary experimentation. The central factor theory, i.e., a unitary ability that is common to all kinds of manipulative activities, was supported by Stenquist whereas Cox found several factors, one strictly manipulative and the other concerned with mental visualization and control of mechanical operations.²⁴ The Stanford Motor Skills Unit is based on the assumption of the existence of numerous specific abilities including eye-hand co-ordination, precision in following the regular rhythmic pattern of a telegraph key, speed of finger movements in discriminating reaction to a visual series and others.²⁵ In the Minnesota Employment Stabilization Re-

²² Donald Paterson, "The Vocational Testing Movement," *Journal of Personnel Research*, 1922, p. 295.

²³ J. L. Stenquist, "Measurement of Mechanical Ability," in *Columbia University Contributions to Education* (1923). A picture of the first objects used is given on page 5. Dr. Thorndike furnished the idea for this performance test.

²⁴ C. M. Cox, *Mechanical Aptitude* (London, 1926).

²⁵ Robert H. Seashore, "Stanford Motor Skills Unit," *Psychology Monograph* No. 39, 1928, pp. 51-65; "Individual Differences in Motor Skills," *Journal of General Psychology*, 1930, p. 61; Frances Gaw, "A Study of Performance Tests," *British Journal of Psychology*, 1925; "The Use of Performance Tests and Mechanical Tests in Vocational Guidance," *Journal of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology*, 1923.

search Institute a battery of three tests, the Minnesota Assembly Test, the Minnesota Paper Formboard, and Henry C. Link's Spatial Relations Test, was found to yield the most reliable index of mechanical ability. Herbert A. Toops in 1923, finding Stenquist's tests unsuitable for girls in trade schools, devised the Institute of Educational Research Mechanical Test for Girls.²⁶ Among other tests of mechanical and manual aptitude are those of T. W. MacQuarrie, L. J. O'Rourke, Harry J. Baker and A. C. Crockett, and Johnson O'Connor.

Measurement of clerical abilities. The second special aptitude to become apparent to psychologists as distinct from general intelligence was clerical ability. The work of Thurstone was probably the first in analyzing and measuring this aptitude for purposes of guidance. Selection tests for use in business offices had been devised previously and had led the way to later guidance programs. Thurstone chose tests of an appropriate intelligence level and at the same time of a type appealing to those interested in office work. The test as finally devised included checking errors in addition and subtraction, underscoring incorrectly spelled words, a cancellation test, a code-learning test, an alphabetizing test, classification, arithmetic, and a test of general intelligence consisting of the matching of proverbs.²⁷

This and other clerical tests have attempted to measure proficiency in a series of office tasks involving special factors underlying general clerical ability. Tuttle in investigating typewriting aptitude found elements often recognized as basic to clerical ability, such as quick motor action, keen sense of rhythm, attention, accuracy, ability to follow directions, and ability to carry on the process of substitution.²⁸

The Scott Company's File Clerk Test consisted of six such varied activities as alphabetizing of names, comparing names and numbers, classification, and a reading test.²⁹ The Minnesota test of clerical ability depends on but two skills—checking numbers and checking names—and seems to give trustworthy results.

Cyril Burt in 1922 reported a study which included proficiency

²⁶ H. A. Toops, "Tests for Vocational Guidance of Children Thirteen to Sixteen," in *Columbia University Contributions to Education* (1923).

²⁷ L. L. Thurstone, "A Standardized Test for Office Clerks," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1919, pp. 248-251.

²⁸ W. W. Tuttle, "The Determination of Ability for Learning Typewriting," *The Journal of Educational Psychology*, March, 1923.

²⁹ D. G. Paterson, "The Scott Company's File Clerk Test," *Journal of Personnel Research*, 1923, pp. 547-561.

tests and tests for possible aptitude.³⁰ These include graded tests of intelligence, educational attainment, linguistic ability, and general information. Although high correlations were found between the results of these items and proficiency in shorthand and typewriting, the tests appeared to be measures of intelligence.

Other vocational tests. There has been little exploration of vocational aptitudes other than mechanical (including manual and special) and clerical aptitudes. Tests of ability to sell have been for the most part selection tests or tests of intelligence.³¹ Aggressiveness as measured by the Allports' ascendance-submission test is believed to be an element basic to selling ability.

Freyd in 1921 investigated journalistic aptitude, testing it with a series of miniature experiences in reporting.³²

Several studies have been made of engineering aptitude. B. V. Moore³³ tested college graduates to find out for which phase of engineering work each was best fitted. Thurstone analyzed students graduating from high school and entering the college of industries as compared with those entering the college of engineering. He found that the latter group was superior in abstract thinking and in manipulation of ideas, whereas the first group was superior in manipulative ability.

Medical colleges report good results from the use of a selection test consisting largely of questions in biology.

Various other tests have been devised, tests of scientific aptitude, teaching, art, nursing, law, and social aptitude (see the current catalogue of the Psychological Corporation). Based on questionnaires and a cursory analysis of the abilities involved, their use is experimental and their value still somewhat doubtful.

Experimentation with interests. The factor of interest has long been recognized as important in conditioning school success. Such

³⁰ Cyril Burt, "Tests for Clerical Occupations," *Journal of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology*, 1922, pp. 23-27; 79-81.

³¹ W. D. Scott, "The Scientific Selection of Salesmen," *Advertising and Selling*, Oct. and Dec. 1915; J. B. Miner, "Standardizing Tests for Vocational Guidance," *School and Society*, June 4, 1921; Merrill Ream, *Ability to Sell; Its Relation to Certain Aspects of Personality and Experience* (1924); Gordon W. and Floyd H. Allport, *The A-S Reaction Study* (1928).

³² Max Freyd, "Test Series for Journalistic Aptitude," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1921, pp. 46-56.

³³ B. V. Moore, "A Tested Method of Using Tests for Vocational Guidance," *School and Society*, 1923, pp. 761-764; L. L. Thurstone, "Intelligence Tests for Engineering Students," *Engineering Education*, 1923, pp. 263-318, cited from C. S. Yoakum, "Basic Experiments in Vocational Guidance," *Journal of Personnel Research*, 1922, pp. 18-34.

men as Herbart, G. Stanley Hall, and E. L. Thorndike have shown its importance. In the industrial field numerous studies likewise have been made showing dissatisfaction of workers with jobs in which they were not interested. Other studies have illustrated the selection of vocations on the basis of interests.³⁴ Studies such as these prove that we tend to do well what we like to do and dislike what leads to failure; adolescent interests must be exercised and then given some consideration when a vocation is being chosen.

The systematic use of interest questionnaires in vocational guidance began with Parsons, who asked questions concerning leisure-time activities, hobbies, reading, and other interests, for the purpose of guiding vocational choice. Interest questionnaires devised by schools and colleges for use in their own vocational guidance laboratories soon led to detailed interest inventories which were standardized and published for general use.

Evidently the first psychologist to work with interest questionnaires with weighted scores was James Burt Miner of the Carnegie Institute of Technology. About 1917 he noted the contrasting pairs of opposite qualities and conditions that had been suggested by Dean Hermann Schneider of the College of Engineering, University of Cincinnati.³⁵ In 1918 Dr. Miner drew up his blank and gave it to ten thousand pupils in the Pittsburgh public schools. This four-page blank began with the obvious personal questions, including a record of previous work. Then followed a list of high-school subjects in ten groups, to be marked for first and second choice, including an indication of whether the preferences were due to teacher influence or to the subject itself. This was followed by a group of eighteen pairs of different working conditions, such as indoor-outdoor, planning—carrying out plans, working with others—working by oneself, regular-irregular hours, etc. This was followed by a number of traits to be underlined to indicate one's strength and weaknesses, and by a question regarding out-of-school activities. Next came twenty-two kinds of work such as growing plants, operating machines, installing equipment, directing people, teaching scientific work, and entertain-

³⁴ Douglas Fryer, "Industrial Dissatisfaction," *Industrial Psychology*, 1926, pp. 25-29; "Why Workers Choose Jobs," *Management and Administration*, 1925, pp. 519-520; Joseph K. Folsom, "What the Psychology of Interests, Motives, and Character, Contributes to Vocational Guidance," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1917, pp. 253-254. See also Robert Hoppock, *Job Satisfaction* (1935), a study of varying attitudes toward work.

³⁵ "Selecting Men for Jobs," *Engineering Magazine*, June, 1916. Schneider unfortunately spoke of the differences found in the applicants as matters of "type" rather than of emphasis.

ing people, with the first three choices required in order of preference. The last page included an expression of occupational choice, a question regarding previous counseling, and a space for a definite statement of one's abilities and interests to an imaginary employer.

In later years Miner amended his blank and as used at the University of Kentucky the list of kinds of work was greatly curtailed. In reports of his work published in the *Journal of Educational Research* (April, 1922), the *School Review* (December, 1925), and the *Journal of Educational Psychology* (May, 1926) Dr. Miner gives an account of his researches, and in the last-named article he shows specific differences in recorded answers among students preferring teaching, engineering, law, and medicine.

In 1919 C. S. Yoakum and his students at the Carnegie Institute of Technology attempted to "measure" vocational interests by comparing statistically the interests of one group with another. Bruce Moore, at that time a student of Yoakum's, experimented in 1921 in the measurement of the mechanical and social interests of engineers.³⁶

It was but a step from such researches to the work of E. K. Strong, Jr., in the middle and late twenties. Strong demonstrated that workers in different occupations have distinctive patterns of interest, and that these differences apply not only to actual work itself but to a number of other apparently unrelated habits and associations. That detective stories are more interesting to engineers than they are to ministers and social workers, and that engineers do not ordinarily like actors whereas lawyers and reporters do, are samples of his findings. With a total of 420 items (400 in a revision), some involving contrasts but most being related to an expression of like, dislike, or indifference, he worked out his scores. One of the most interesting of his results is that occupations seem to fall into clusters or continents.

Corresponding blanks have yet to be worked out for persons under twenty, since many of Strong's items are beyond the experience of an immature person. His blanks for women have proved useful also, though the occupations so far studied have not been so comprehensively selected.

These researches on interests by Miner and Strong³⁷ are among

³⁶ B. V. Moore, "Personnel Selection of Graduate Engineers," *Psychology Monograph* No. 138 (1921).

³⁷ See E. K. Strong, Jr., *Change of Interests with Age* (1931); Douglas Fryer, *Measurement of Interests* (1931), especially the Appendix.

the most important contributions to the vocational guidance movement.

Estimation of qualities of temperament and character. Recognition of the importance of character and personality factors in conditioning vocational success has been slow. The abstract nature and difficulty of defining various traits has been a serious hindrance in experimental work. Early experiments pointed to the need for consideration of personality factors.³⁸ Gradually the now familiar hypothesis of the introvert and extrovert took on a new vocational significance, the introvert tending to be interested in solitary occupations requiring manipulation of mechanical things and ideas rather than in the social contacts which interest the extrovert.

For purposes of measurement and estimation several questionnaires and rating scales have been devised. Questionnaires measuring psychoneurotic maladjustment (Bernreuter, Humm-Wadsworth, Thurstone, Woodworth) have been borrowed from other fields of psychology. Laird's inventory measures extremes of introversion and extroversion. The Allports' ascendance-submission test gives a measure of aggressiveness and submissiveness. All of these questionnaires have been standardized and statistically treated so that the resulting score is a measure of a particular personality trait. Scores, however, are dependent on a student's understanding of his interests and activities. For this reason interpretation of the numerical score in terms of vocational abilities is difficult.

Rating scales, the use of which began during the First World War, have gradually become more reliable with the use of more specific questions. The man-to-man rating scale which was developed just before the war at the Carnegie Institute of Technology illustrates the more general, subjective ratings, while the graphic rating scales, which permit as fine gradations of judgment as are desired, illustrate the more specific use of the rating scales.³⁹ In 1930 Francis

³⁸ F. Watts, "The Outlook for Vocational Psychology," *British Journal of Psychology*, 1921, pp. 194-206; Max Freyd, "Introverts and Extroverts," *Psychological Review*, 1924, pp. 74-87; "Personalities of the Socially and Mechanically Inclined," *Psychological Monograph* No. 151 (1924), p. 99; R. M. Hubbard, "Interests Studied Quantitatively; Measurement of Differences between the Social and Mechanically Inclined in Relation to Vocational Selection," *Journal of Personnel Research*, 1926, pp. 365-378; W. V. Bingham, "Personality and Vocation," *British Journal of Psychology*, 1926, p. 359; D. Laird, "How Personalities are Found in Industry," *Industrial Psychology*, 1926, p. 660.

³⁹ Max Freyd, "The Graphic Rating Scale," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1923, pp. 83-102.

F. Bradshaw issued through the American Council on Education his simplified rating scale called the "personality report."

Use of testing for the young. As yet the use of aptitude and interest tests for purposes of vocational guidance has made little progress in the public schools. Intelligence testing for purposes of ability grouping and educational guidance has become common. Despite a short-lived period of enthusiasm over the possibilities of vocational aptitude testing, public schools have found the tests only moderately well adapted for secondary-school students. A survey by the Children's Bureau in 1925 showed only a few cities attempting the use of aptitude and interest tests. Scattered attempts by teachers, counselors, and principals at that time, however, have led to a wider use of these tools for vocational guidance.

In 1920 an experiment in vocational guidance in New York made wide use of testing and counseling procedures. This Vocational Service for Juniors and other organizations using testing techniques are described in Chapter 12.

The National Institute of Industrial Psychology in London has carried on one of the most extensive experiments in testing as an aid to guidance. Founded in 1921 for the application of psychology to problems of industries and commercial firms, the Institute soon realized that work in vocational selection was really complementary to work in vocational guidance. With the aid of the London School Committee, experimentation in testing and counseling of children in three elementary schools began. Follow-up studies several years later gave good indication of the success of the work. Teachers and parents were consulted by means of questionnaires, new tests were devised and standardized, and old tests revised. In spite of a concept of vocational guidance differing somewhat from that in the United States (advising rather than counseling) the Institute has made noteworthy progress.⁴⁰

An experiment carried out by E. L. Thorndike led to the conclusion that prediction of vocational success on the basis of tests and school records was unwarranted. Mechanical ability, clerical ability, and intelligence tests were administered to two thousand children, follow-up studies being made some years later. However, these young persons had no help in vocational guidance, and for this reason the experiment does not prove that the use of tests for purposes of vocational guidance is unwarranted. There is indication

⁴⁰ F. M. Earle, *Methods of Choosing a Career* (London, 1931).

rather of the questionable value of the specific tests used or of the impermanence of the particular abilities and interests tested.⁴¹

Valuable data collected. An abundance of experimental data has resulted from attempts to effect an adjustment of unemployed workers to modern economic conditions, through the use of tests and counseling interviews. In Chapter 12 we have described the work of the Minnesota Employment Stabilization Institute and that of the Adjustment Service of New York.

Necessary cautions. Throughout the history of the application of psychology to vocational guidance true progress has been hindered by the attitudes of those unfamiliar with the nature of tests. The desire of the public for a "fortune-telling" device made many clients overeager for specific advice. This has made it difficult for the counselor to help the student help himself. The widespread use of aptitude tests coupled with careless interpretation of results by novices is dangerous. After more than twenty-five years of experimentation there still is comparatively little known as to the nature of vocational aptitudes, their relation to general intelligence, and their relation to actual fields of work. Comparatively speaking we are still guessing as to the measurement of abilities, and those who use vocational aptitude tests should remember that test results are tentative at best.

These conditions are directly related to dangers in the use of tests by psychologists and others who *charge fees* for their services. Such professionals, whether honest and mistaken, or dishonest, are almost forced by the nature of their business to write prescriptions for their clients. But the state of psychology and guidance makes such definite advice illegitimate. Hence all guides should be in the service of educational or similar institutions.

Supplementary data on psychological research. A history of the application of psychology to vocational guidance should have a large volume to itself. Henry Link's *Employment Psychology* (1919) reported interesting findings and methods. Kitson's book *The Psychology of Vocational Adjustment* (1925) was the first comprehensive book in its field, and is rich in historical materials. Fryer's *Vocational Self-guidance* of the same year illustrated many uses for psychological devices as of that date. B. Othanel Smith in *Logical Aspects of Educational Measurement* (1938) devotes two valuable

⁴¹ H. A. Toops, "Tests for Vocational Guidance of Children Thirteen to Sixteen," in *Columbia University Contributions to Education* (1923); E. L. Thorndike, *Prediction of Vocational Success* (1934).

chapters to history, educational however rather than vocational. The early achievement scales in school studies are described: J. M. Rice and B. R. Buckingham in spelling, C. W. Stone and S. A. Courtis in arithmetic, E. L. Thorndike and Leonard P. Ayres in handwriting, Clifford Woody in arithmetic, and M. R. Trabue in language. Clark L. Hull in *Aptitude Testing* (1928) endeavored to formulate technique for classifying occupations into groups.

In 1935 Arthur F. Dodge published his *Occupational Ability Patterns*, concluding that although average scores show significant differences among various occupational groups, overlapping of distributions is so great that individuals cannot be classified. Incidental to his research Dodge sets up (on page 12) a historical list related to ability patterns, part of which follows:

- 1879 First psychological laboratory—Wilhelm Wundt
- 1883 "Centesimal grade" or centile point—Francis Galton
- 1890 Ten psychological tests, with standard procedures—J. McKeen Cattell
- 1896 Study of Emile Zola, using psychological tests—Edward Toulouse
- 1901 Graphic presentation of statistical study of college students, using Cattell's tests—Clark Wissler
- 1911 First individual profile—G. Rossolimo
- 1912 Raw test scores reduced to sigma values—R. S. Woodworth
- 1916 Individual profiles based on percentile rank—Edouard Claparède
- 1917 Sigma values as a basis for individual profiles—H. D. Kitson
- 1917 First occupational ability pattern of the selection type—A. Gemelli
- 1917 and 1918 Foundation laid for guidance type of pattern—Otto Lipmann and Martha Ulrich
- 1922 "Job psychograph" ability pattern of guidance type—M. S. Viteles
- 1930 Occupational ability patterns based on minimum requirements—A. H. Martin
- 1933 Patterns based on median abilities of workers—M. R. Trabue

The present offering of tests for educational and vocational guidance is hinted by a perusal of the catalogue of the test division of the Psychological Corporation, which handles only a restricted list. Under aptitudes and abilities there are five entries for art, six for clerical ability, seven for mechanical, six for music, three for stenography and typing, and one or two each for teaching, nursing, engineering, selling, and executive ability. There are in addition tests or blanks for interests, personality, interviews, records, social background, general intelligence, and knowledge.

A comprehensive statement of the best tests available in 1937,

together with the theory back of vocational tests and directions for their use, was published as *Aptitudes and Aptitude Testing*, by Walter V. Bingham (1937). The pamphlet *Minimum Essentials of the Individual Inventory* (1939) was prepared by Giles M. Ruch and David Segal. A useful yearbook giving detailed criticism of tests is issued by Oscar K. Buros of Rutgers University.

The outlook. Psychological research can give much in the future; its history will be interesting and important indeed. This history will be best if statisticians and psychologists are careful to adhere faithfully to the democratic principle in all they do. At times individuals have given the impression that their aim is to help classify the population and assign people to their work. In war time much of that classification must be done, and the psychologists are to be honored for their great service. But in times of peace and democracy, at least, all workers in vocational guidance must constantly remind themselves that the development of the ability of the individual to guide himself rightly is more important even than is the achievement of his personal success, and vastly more important than the achievement of efficiency in the "great society."

The above remarks are not aimed at any individual psychologist; we respect and admire them all.

Donald E. Paterson in the *Educational Record* of January, 1938, says that Frank Parsons went to the cupboard—psychology—for help in studying and measuring the abilities of the individual, and found the cupboard bare, but that now he would shed tears of joy could he see the instruments that today's psychologists have developed. A large view of Parsons' life and work and writings would support the thought that his joy would be greater still if he could be assured that these instruments would always be used in the truly democratic way indicated by the word guidance, a word which, so far as we can determine, he introduced with systematic significance into the vocabulary of education.

Beginnings in Other Countries

AN ATTEMPT to describe experiments in other countries has value in discovering what may be learned for future efforts. Many of the past experiments abroad are past indeed, with the character of future work dependent on forms of government and of industry developed after the advent of peace. That progress toward democracy (and Christianity) is by no means automatic, in the sense that it will achieve itself, seems a safe deduction from the philosophy of history. But that it is inevitable, in that man will suffer wars and other evils until he reforms and learns to build rightly, seems clear enough also.

According to this not very hopeful view we may at least expect that vocational guidance will not perish from the earth. While it cannot arise in countries that persist in a sheeplike docility and desire to be bossed, even in such the techniques of vocational selection, assignment, and prescription may teach something to those other countries where counselors will use them rightly.

Though our data were gathered just before the Second World War, we write in terms of old boundaries. Our discussion of guidance in each country must be limited to early development. For comparative and detailed material on more recent practices the reader is referred to *Vocational Guidance Throughout the World*, by Franklin J. Keller and Morris S. Viteles (1937).

England and Wales. Organized vocational guidance activities in England have centered for the most part on registration and placement of youths leaving the elementary schools. Two acts of Parliament established separate agencies to be responsible for this work. The Board of Trade was first authorized by the Labor Exchanges Act of 1909 to advise and to assist in matters of juvenile employment. The following is quoted from "Special Rules with Regard to Registration of Applicants in England and Wales":¹

Special advisory committees for juvenile employment shall be established in such areas as the Board of Trade may think expedient. These committees shall include persons possessing experience or knowledge of education . . . and also persons representing employers and workmen. . . . Subject to these rules a special advisory committee may take

¹ Meyer Bloomfield, *The School and the Start in Life*, pp. 14-15.

steps . . . to give information, advice, and assistance to boys and girls and their parents with respect to the choice of employment and other matters bearing thereon.

In 1910, however, the Education (Choice of Employment) Act designated that the local education authorities were responsible for making arrangements to give to "boys and girls under 17 years of age assistance with respect to the choice of suitable employment, by means of the collection and the communication of information and the furnishing of advice."

With two agencies for advising on juvenile employment it was natural that controversy should result in localities where both agencies attempted to function. In 1921 Lord Chelmsford offered a solution to the problem by recommending that the local education authorities be given priority. Failing their willingness to assume this responsibility it became mandatory for the Ministry of Labor to assume responsibility for placing juveniles. Since this time one or the other of the agencies has been responsible in the majority of localities, but in a few notable instances co-operation has existed.

The Fisher Act in 1918 attempted to raise the age limit for compulsory full-time school attendance to fourteen years and continuation school attendance to eighteen years. Although not successful the law did affect the national attitude toward youth and was partially responsible for an increasing interest in vocational guidance as an educational process.

The British method of summoning a school-leaving boy or girl before a group of citizens called "rotas" to discuss his vocational future and review his educational records probably has many disadvantages, depending as it does on the personalities of the citizens and their sincerity in the work. Some local committees have done much to help their boys, distributing occupational information, conducting tours of factories, bringing in speakers, and encouraging the return of young people for advice after they have started work.

Since 1921 the education authority or labor exchange of the Board of Trade, whichever one functioned in the locality, was made responsible also for the administration of unemployment insurance for juveniles. The National Insurance Act which had become operative in 1912 did not apply to juveniles of sixteen and seventeen years of age until 1920. Still more recently the Act has been extended to apply to juveniles of fourteen and fifteen. The administration of

insurance enables the local vocational guidance agency to keep in close contact with the young people who have left school.

In the "public schools" the graduates usually consult the headmaster or one of the teachers who has been appointed to serve as a "careers master." The Incorporated Association of Headmasters and Headmistresses of Public Secondary Schools sponsors an Employment Committee which co-operates with the Ministry of Labor in maintaining an office in London for the distribution of careers material, placement in business positions, and visiting of schools. The possibility for guidance is limited by the social status of the students, among whom certain vocational choices are traditional.

Since its founding in 1921 the National Institute of Industrial Psychology in London has played an important part in the history of vocational guidance in England. Analyses of occupational abilities have been extensive. In several city school systems, including Birmingham, London, and Fife, the effectiveness of testing and guidance has been evaluated. In more recent years many personal counseling interviews have been conducted. Before the founding of the Institute little emphasis was placed on the psychological aspects of vocational guidance. In 1915 a study was made by the London County Council, under the direction of Cyril Burt, which showed the need for more extensive work of an objective nature.

Several private organizations attempted to solve the age-old problem of juvenile employment before the government authorized the local labor exchanges. Their work, however, was not extensive and the nature of their effort remains vague. The Central Employment Bureau for Women was founded in 1898 and aimed to help women find work "suited to their individual temperaments, capacities, and attainments." A Future Career Association was founded in London in 1904. Note the date, before Frank Parsons. Its director, H. Becker, stated to us (1919) that the functions of the association were as follows:

1. Specializes on all forms of careers at home or abroad.
2. Constitutes a trustworthy and exhaustive bureau of information on education and occupations.
3. Furnishes expert advice as to careers of study, cost, prospects, and advantages of all careers in life.

The Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association published in 1908 a book for boys leaving the elementary schools to enter the trades, *Trades for London Boys and How to Enter Them*.

The work of this association has been carried on by local committees that have kept in touch with the elementary schools and the working boys' and girls' clubs. Industrial information was collected and suitable openings for boys and girls found in each district.

Scotland. Because of its proximity to England, Scotland has followed closely the pattern of development of vocational guidance in England. The Labor Exchanges Act of 1908 authorized the Board of Trade to set up exchanges to serve as employment bureaus for school-leaving juveniles. Prior to the application of this Act to Scotland much interest in the question of vocational guidance had been aroused by Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon. Because of her efforts the (Scotland) Education Act, 1908, authorizing education authorities to collect occupational information and give vocational advice, had already been passed.

In 1904 Mrs. Gordon lectured before a Glasgow audience giving plans whereby school boards should establish bureaus for guiding boys and girls into employments for which they were best fitted. The National Council of Women passed a resolution² in 1907 that

the government should communicate with the local authorities, recommending them to investigate the possibilities of employment in the trades and industries of the district, and to consider the question of establishing under each education committee an information bureau where boys and girls, or the parents on their behalf, may be guided in the choice of suitable occupations . . . that an employment department be associated with the bureau for the use of workers under eighteen years of age.

Occupational material was collected and published by Mrs. Gordon in 1908 in her *Handbook of Employments*.

The Education Act of 1908, which did not go into effect until 1909, authorized committees to study the employment situation in their individual towns and to maintain an employment bureau which could foster closer co-operation between schools and employees. The need for some type of assistance for juveniles in getting their first job has been seen, but the greater part of the work of the few education committees which accepted their responsibility consisted in persuading youths to attend the continuation schools. A bureau for vocational assistance was established in 1908 in Edinburgh, but little employment work was carried out until a labor exchange was set up in 1910 by the Ministry of Labor. Since this time Edinburgh

² *Manchester Guardian*, October 26, 1907.

has been outstanding for the extent of the co-operation between the Ministry of Labor and the education committee. Throughout the rest of Scotland the Ministry of Labor is responsible for maintaining the Labor Exchanges. More recently the Ministry of Labor has established careers committees within the secondary schools for advising and placing the students.³

France. Official recognition to vocational guidance was given in 1920 by the Ministry of Labor when the regional Labor offices of Strasbourg, Nantes, Marseille, Lyon, Lille, Paris, and Toulouse were requested to make cautious experiments in the giving of vocational guidance to school children. By 1921 many of these offices had complied with the request. Strasbourg's vocational guidance office was opened by the Strasbourg Chamber of Crafts in February, 1921, with Julian Fontègne as director. For each child a profile was constructed containing medical and psychological information; this was presented to the employment office, after which definite vocational advice was given to the child. In Nantes the Regional Labor Office opened in April, 1921, a vocational guidance bureau for school and working children which co-operated with medical and school authorities much as have the German and other labor offices. Grants for support were received from the Ministry of Labor, the Technical Education Authorities, the town of Nantes, and the Chamber of Commerce. In 1922 Marseille followed the example set by Strasbourg and adopted J. Fontègne's psychological profile.

In the meantime a private office in Bordeaux was attracting attention with its publications on occupations and its plan of requiring children to analyze themselves by comparing themselves with other children. The *Chambre de Métiers de la Gironde et du Sud-Ouest* was founded by Lopes Dias, in December, 1919; F. Mauvezin later became the director. Their publications up to 1922 include *Rose des métiers*, several guidance books for children and their parents, *Avant de choisir son métier ou sa profession*, and *Rose des activités féminines* (by Louise Mauvezin). A monthly bulletin was started in 1920.

By 1921, when the Ministry of Public Instruction asked the schools to collaborate with the employment exchanges, the education department of the French government had officially recognized vocational guidance. A decree in 1922 declared that the duties of the French Undersecretariat of State for Technical Education should

³ Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland for the year 1933 (London, 1934), p. 36.

include vocational guidance and the granting of funds for guidance offices. The decree was issued on the recommendation of the Ministry of Education, in whose report certain principles for the carrying out of vocational guidance were laid down. Certain phases of vocational guidance had already been under the control of the local vocational education authorities. Acts of 1919 and 1920 required a local committee to decide on a young man's capacity to take any given course and established a system of certification of vocational ability by a board of examiners.

In 1926 an International Congress for the *Orientation Professionnelle* of Women was held at Bordeaux. The resulting proceedings (Congrès International d'Orientation Professionnelle Féminine), published by the General Secretary, Louise Mauvezin, was a synopsis of the problems of women and of the opportunities open to them.

In November, 1928, the first National Institute for Vocational Guidance was inaugurated when guidance was officially recognized by the government through Edouard Herriot. The Institute, with E. Labbé, General Director of the Division of Technical Training as president, has carried out an extensive program of psychological and other research, training counselors, and publishing of statistical data. In general the Institute sets the standard for the local or district offices throughout the country, carrying out a few individual analyses and some counseling to serve as examples for the other offices, all of which are financed in part by the government. There is no regulation by the government as to procedures.

Switzerland. The apprenticeship system that dominates the vocational education of the industrial country of Switzerland has played an important part in establishing the character of guidance activities in the autonomous cantons of Switzerland. Keller and Viteles recognize the work of a group of persons who since 1902 throughout the cantons "attempted to co-ordinate the efforts of employers, trade unions, welfare offices, and schools in the interest of effective orientation." An association originally known as the Association of Employers of Apprentices became in 1915 the Swiss Association of Vocational Guidance and Apprentice Welfare. In individual cantons vocational guidance offices to supervise and advise apprentices were set up by private organizations or individuals. There has been frequent reference in guidance literature to one of the earliest of those offices, that in Basel, organized in 1907 by the Pestalozzi Society. In 1910 the office was taken over by the state, and schoolteachers were required to furnish information about each pupil.

The development of an interest in guidance and supervision of apprenticeship tended to follow different patterns in individual cantons and cities. The initiative has come occasionally from the employers, or from trade associations. The work of the bureaus has included placement, supervision of apprenticeship, consultations with pupils, parents or teachers, and in many instances publication of pamphlets for distribution. In Geneva the Institut Jean Jacques Rousseau organized in 1912 by Edouard Claparède formed a vocational guidance bureau in 1918 under the directorship of Julian Fontègne. Pierre Bovet also has devoted much attention to vocational guidance. He has kept in touch with the movement in America and co-operated with the efforts of the International Labor office in the cause of vocational education and guidance. Professor Kitson pointed out that Bovet's *Vingt ans de vie* is a valuable record of his interest in guidance. This bureau has specialized more than any other in Switzerland in psychological and medical examinations as an aid to guidance.

A detailed account of the organization of a central bureau in Zurich in 1919 from nine separate agencies is given by Keller and Viteles. This central bureau was developed within the school department.

When compared with the schools of many other European countries the Swiss schools have shown an active interest in vocational guidance. Not only is information about each child furnished to the employment office, but there have been a few attempts to make the schoolmasters conscious of the importance of a correct choice of occupation while the child is still in school and to provide them with occupational material for distribution. The cantons of Schwyz (1916), St. Gall (1917), Vaud (1917), and Zurich (1918) instructed their educational staffs "to watch and follow up children with a view to their being directed into the most suitable vocation." The educational staffs of St. Gall were advised to have confidential talks with pupils and parents on the subject of vocational choice. More recently in Geneva two hours per week in the last year of primary school were devoted to the study of trades, during which time the schoolmaster was supposed to try to help his pupils in their choice of a future career.

Spain. Systematic vocational guidance was not organized in Spain until the Institut d'Orientacio Professionalde of Barcelona developed in 1920 out of an apprentice bureau established in 1915 in connection with the Social Museum and the Industrial University. Voca-

tional service to boys had been given by the apprentice bureau, but with the organization of the Vocational Guidance Institute under the direction of J. Ruis Castella vocational guidance was made available to all school-leaving children on the basis of psychological and medical examinations.

The development of vocational guidance since 1921 has followed closely the policies and activities of the central office, the Barcelona Institute. Branch offices are established in the smaller towns of Catalonia upon petition to the Barcelona office by the municipal authorities, an employers' or workers' association, or a public utility society. The branch office is then organized in the following sections, as is the central office: organizations and consultations, medicine and anthropometry, and comparative statistics. Psychological tests are left to the Barcelona Institute, occupational information likewise being distributed by the central office.

In the meantime vocational guidance had been developing under the Ministry of Labor. Mercedes Rodrigo, while a student at the Rousseau Institute, was summoned by Cesar de Madariaga of the Ministry of Labor to re-educate the industrially disabled of Spain. Out of the Institute of Occupational Re-education in Madrid grew the Institute of Vocational Guidance of Madrid, whose activities were confined to Madrid until 1926, when the Ministry of Labor became sponsor of both the Barcelona and the Madrid Institutes through the Vocational Education Statute of that year. The work of these central institutes and their branch offices since 1928 has been closely related to the training of apprentices and placement. Occupational information in pamphlets, reports from teachers as to interests and abilities of students, and psychological tests constitute the main interests of the bureaus in the prevocational schools.

Holland. Vocational guidance bureaus have been established in Holland by private agencies and by some municipalities. The government does not subsidize the movement. The bureaus are very similar to the labor exchanges of other countries, yet there is more emphasis on the analysis of the individual through medical examination, questionnaires, and information in the possession of the schools than there is emphasis on placement and contact with employees. The General Committee of Advice recommended in 1918 the establishment of a municipal vocational guidance bureau at Amsterdam; it was organized in 1919 under the direction of Van Det. Other cities soon followed the example.

Belgium. Vocational guidance in Belgium began first to be investigated by the Société Belge de Pedotechnic, which had been founded by Arthur Nijne. In March, 1912, the society established the first vocational guidance office in Belgium with A. G. Christaens in charge. The work of the bureau first included testing for physical aptitude under the direction of Omer Buyse and gave exploratory courses at l'Université du Travail at Charleroi. Out of this office developed the so-called Brussels system of vocational guidance, supported by the town of Brussels and the adjacent communes.

After 1914 individual communes in Belgium began establishing their own vocational guidance bureaus, which were to operate under the Intercommunal Bureau at Brussels. Since then vocational guidance has centered around aptitude measurement and occupational studies. By 1924 ten districts around Brussels had offices working under the direction of the Intercommunal Office.

Czechoslovakia. Although the idea of vocational guidance in Czechoslovakia dates from the revolution of 1918, plans were not worked out until the founding of the Masaryk Academy in June of 1920. Here a psychotechnical institute was organized, under the direction of Vilem Forster, where psychological tests and vocational guidance were given. When a vocational guidance office was opened at Prague in 1921 it co-operated with the psychotechnical institute of Masaryk Academy in making examinations of those who sought vocational guidance. Conferences with parents, school reports, and medical examinations supplemented the psychological tests. Other vocational guidance offices have since been established in Parbudice and in Troppau, which operate as does the office at Prague.

Poland. An organization in Warsaw, the Society for the Patrons of the Young Worker, founded in 1915, served as the core for the development of vocational guidance in Poland. The duties of the organization are vague, but it is probable that it resembled a labor exchange for factory youth. By 1919 Wacław Hauszyl established a placement bureau and psychotechnical laboratory within the society. Partial support by the municipality of Warsaw in 1922 definitely established the office as a vocational guidance office. At the time of the reorganization of the Polish government as an independent state (1919) the government empowered the State Labor Offices to give vocational advice to persons choosing or desiring to change their occupation. The Warsaw labor office was the first to assume these added duties. Psychological laboratories by 1927 played an important part in the analysis of the applicant's abilities, although

little was known of the psychological basis of the occupational abilities. A medical examination formed the greater part of the analysis by the Psychotechnical Institute of Warsaw, while intelligence tests were important at the Lodz Institute.

Germany. The development of vocational guidance in Germany is of historical importance because of its gradual growth out of a popular system of labor exchanges. Municipal labor exchanges have been a necessary part of the industrial setup since the first bureau was established at Frankfort on the Main in 1895. As placement interviews improved throughout the years methods of counseling and the discussing of individual employment problems were refined, and interest soon developed in the potential abilities of the school-leaving youth. The first evidence of this interest in youth is an attempt made by the municipal labor bureau of Strasbourg, aided by labor organizations and the Chamber of Commerce, to assist children in choosing and obtaining their first jobs. In 1908 Dr. Wolff in the city of Halle began giving out information to young people on vocational questions. Later he gave definite suggestions for vocational choice based on a study of an applicant's educational equipment, health, personal inclinations, and the financial condition of the family.

Municipal and privately organized vocational guidance offices soon opened in the large industrial cities. The Leipzig Manufacturers' Association opened a bureau for youth in 1912; the Berlin Labor Bureau Central Office in 1913 conducted public motion pictures explaining the different occupations; Düsseldorf opened a bureau in 1913; Frankfort on the Main showed occupational moving pictures in 1915. In Berlin in 1916 an Institute for Vocational Psychology began using questionnaires to estimate an individual's aptitude. In 1919 this institute joined the Institute of Applied Psychology under the directorship of Otto Lipmann to specialize in the psychological analyses of vocational abilities. The scientific aspects of vocational guidance have been popular among the Germans, and psychotechnical analyses of various industrial jobs have frequently been published.

State and federal control of vocational guidance developed more slowly than municipal control. A Bavarian Ministerial Decree of 1919 required schoolteachers to make reports every year on the vocations chosen by their pupils, and to transmit these reports to employment exchanges for purposes of vocational guidance. In Prussia four ministries, Interior, Commerce, Agriculture, and Education, combined in producing a State Decree (1919) which declared that every district within the state must set up a vocational bureau. If an

employment exchange were already in operation the vocational guidance bureau was incorporated in it but retained its independence of action.

An employment exchange office was organized in the Federal Ministry of Labor in 1920 to serve as a central vocational guidance office and to publish a journal called the *Reichs-Arbeitsblatt*. In 1923 the Federal Employment Board at Berlin laid down general principles to determine the nature of the vocational guidance activities of the employment exchanges throughout the country and the co-operation of the exchanges with the school and the employers of the community. Since that time organization of vocational guidance by the German state has tended to follow closely in activities and interests the pattern of the public free employment offices. By 1931 Germany had eliminated all fee-charging employment agencies. A law passed by the *Reichstag* in 1927 augmented the powers of the Federal Employment Exchanges and created a central bureau to deal with matters concerning labor mediation and unemployment insurance. This law did not make vocational guidance an immediate function of the government, but rather it set up a self-administering organization which existed in close relation with the Ministry of Labor. Complete centralization of all placement and vocational guidance was secured by the *Reich* by law in 1935.

A detailed picture of the status of vocational guidance in Germany is given by Keller and Viteles and by Else Ulich-Beil. The schools play no part in vocational guidance, permitting it to be a monopoly of the Department of Labor. German philosophy, on the whole, refuses to recognize individual interests and ambitions, but instead one must be willing to recognize economic demands and take one's place in an occupational scheme where the duty to society can best be performed. Vocational guidance must be a function of the labor bureau. The school can only help determine aptitudes, advise attendance at the Labor Bureau, and teach the "spiritual value of labor and the moral necessity of a wise choice of vocation."

Austria. The vocational guidance movement received little publicity in Austria until a committee for vocational guidance was set up in the Austrian Ministry of Social Administration under the direction of Robert Kauer on January 1, 1918. As a result of an elaborate propaganda program, recommendations to individual cities, courses for counselors, and the establishment of a vocational guidance association, the cities of Wiener-Neustadt, Linz, and Steyr set up offices in 1921. The work was primarily placement, the offices

being organized in connection with the employment exchanges. In Linz the complete vocational guidance system became linked with the Labor Office, the District Industrial Committee, the craftsmen's associations, and the child welfare committees. In Vienna, in 1922, a vocational guidance office was established by the Vienna municipality and the Vienna Chamber of Labor. Again a juvenile employment exchange was attached to the bureau.

The government of Styria set up a vocational guidance office in Graz in 1919, with an employment exchange. In 1920 this office became officially attached to the Styrian employment exchange service. By 1922 co-operation was established with the schools and the services of psychologists and physicians were made available.

In Upper Austria vocational guidance was organized by the State Welfare Office in co-operation with the State School Board. Employment exchanges were controlled through the schools and some of the teachers were made responsible for guidance. In 1921 a record card for psychological observations was drawn up by Professor Mally and introduced into the secondary schools of Graz for use in vocational guidance. By 1922 vocational guidance was organized in all the public and private elementary schools of Graz and in all the secondary schools of Styria. An order of the Education Office of 1922 recognized the giving of vocational guidance advice to parents as a duty of the school.

Italy. Before the advent of Fascism with its emphasis on the development of economic strength through the greatest possible utilization of human resources vocational guidance made little progress in Italy. During the First World War industrial psychology made progress and methods of vocational psychology were perfected. When vocational guidance techniques were adopted they tended to follow lines laid down in vocational selection experiments. De Sanctis in 1919 published a *Psychology of Vocations* which provided detailed studies of the various vocational aptitudes.

In 1922 the Third International Conference on Psychology as applied to Vocational Guidance was held in Milan and was organized by the Umanitaria Society, Professor G. E. Ferrari of Bologna acting as chairman. At that time Mme. Diez Gasca was reported to have been Director of vocational guidance in Rome. Other offices were established at Turin by Professor Pizzoli and the Industrial Institute, at Genoa by Dr. Vidoli, at Milan by Drs. Doniselli and Albertini.

The policy of the Fascist regime of recent years to encourage early

specialization in vocational training has necessitated a widespread development of vocational guidance offices. These have sprung up in many localities and thus far have not been centralized. The ministry of National Education, however, has kept in close touch with the local vocational guidance offices.

Rumania. The Council of Ministers of Rumania decided in 1927 that vocational guidance and selection should function under the authority and supervision of the Ministry of Labor. Following a study of the problem by a specially appointed commission, a systematic classification of the manual jobs was made and inquiries were made about the various vocational aptitudes. Three psychotechnical laboratories, at Bucharest, Iassy, and Cluj, assist in the work of vocational guidance.

Finland. Finland is reported to have had very little need for vocational guidance because of its sparse population. The State Railways Psychotechnical Laboratory was working in 1924 on the subject of vocational guidance, starting with the selection of apprentices for the State Railways. By 1928, however, it was reported that vocations were being discussed in the schools of Helsingfors, while two bureaus for advice in vocational questions had been established.

Sweden. Little has been done in Sweden in the interests of vocational guidance. A juvenile labor exchange founded in Stockholm in 1923 has been attempting to give vocational advice to the young people who come to the office. In Gothenburg a psychology laboratory supported by educational authorities and private funds has attempted vocational guidance. Several books on occupations have been published and are listed by Keller and Viteles (page 438).

Norway. Vocational guidance in Norway has been undertaken by several private agencies. A Vocational Bureau established in Oslo and supported by the State University and private funds, started by giving vocational selection tests to officers of the navy but later expanded the work to vocational guidance tests. Since 1925 J. G. Lund, Director of the Oslo Trade and Preparatory School, has attempted to give vocational guidance to boys entering manual trades. Information is given through visits to school workshops. Abilities are analyzed by a detailed testing program. Occupational information and vocational guidance literature have been published since 1926 by the Occupational Training Committee for Manual Work and Industry, controlled and supported by the state.

Denmark. The city of Copenhagen has taken the lead in vocational guidance in Denmark, basing the greater part of its work on

a psychological analysis of each child as he leaves school. In 1924 the Copenhagen Laboratory of Applied Psychology as a part of the University of Copenhagen was asked by an association of employees to prepare a series of tests applying to apprenticeships. Since that time the Copenhagen Laboratory has worked with the central employment agency testing every child of fourteen or fifteen years seeking employment. Occupational information is given to school children by the laboratory.

Russia. The philosophy of education in Russia has a distinct bearing on the development of vocational guidance in the Soviet government, as shown by Viteles. The problem of vocational guidance for school children cannot be the problem it is in this country, for several reasons. The philosophy of work is basic to all teaching from the primary grades up. The schools are closely related to the factories; they carry on joint projects and work in the interests of each other. Our problem of acquainting children with the world of work and the philosophy of work is partly solved by their everyday experience in the classroom. Once an individual has decided which industry appeals to him the most, his occupational rating as a worker may be found by study and by passing the state technical examinations. "The rational distribution of labor" according to the needs of society is part of the plan of the Soviet government. To respect individual aptitudes and still avoid overcrowding in certain fields must of necessity result in a compromise. The needs of society seem to be more respected than individual aptitude and preferences.

Vocational guidance under the Soviet regime started with a small research laboratory, under the direction of A. F. Clark, which opened at the Institute of the Brain in Leningrad in 1924. In 1927 the Commissariat of Labor sponsored as part of the Institute a vocational guidance bureau which served the children of Leningrad and helped organize bureaus in other cities. This bureau was reorganized in 1930 as the Laboratory of Vocational Guidance of the Leningrad Institute for the Organization and Protection of Labor and became the research and administrative center for the vocational guidance work of the Commissariat of Labor and finally the National Union of Trade Unions. Later (1934) a Central Laboratory for vocational guidance bureaus was established in Moscow. Paralleling this development was the development of bureaus operated by the Commissariats of Health. Commissariats of Education have little responsibility for the program in spite of the fact that guidance offices advise pupils of the seventh grade level as to future educational courses, on the basis of psychological tests, teachers' ratings, and reports of the

social worker. Specific vocational advice is not given, but rather the student is oriented toward a specific industry.

Several laboratories likewise have attempted to give vocational guidance and to conduct research along the line of individual aptitudes. Among these are the Trouda Institute at Kharkov, the Psycho-technical Laboratory of the University of Moscow, and others in Sewsapwoenprom and Petrograd.

Australia. Vocational guidance in Australia is sponsored by the state education authorities, who regulate all education without national control. The extent of the program varies from state to state, but in general the departments agree as to the necessity of keeping teachers, who serve as counselors, informed on occupational matters and on keeping cumulative record cards. Some states employ psychological tests.

Apart from the work of the state departments is the Australian Institute of Industrial Psychology, organized as an affiliate of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology of Great Britain. The Australian Institute was organized in 1927 in Sydney. The Institute at the time of its organization was directed by A. H. Martin and conducted vocational research, testing projects, and interviews along the lines of the parent institution. Still another agency important in introducing vocational guidance to Australia was the Victorian Vocational and Child Guidance Clinic in Melbourne.

The New South Wales Department of Education founded in 1926 a vocational guidance bureau which since 1931 has been loaned to the Department of Labor and Industry, where it was expected to be more effective. An attempt is made to give free advice to children still in school on the basis of tests rather than to guide or place school-leavers. Victoria alone has a state-wide program that includes all schools through the instigation of the Director of Education, J. McRae. A bureau was organized in 1929 which regulates all vocational guidance in state schools. Educational guidance and placement of school-leavers are the main features of the plan. South Australia provides occupational information in pamphlet form, and teachers are detailed as counselors. Queensland in 1932-33 developed a record card to include parental observations on hobbies, interests, and temperaments. Western Australia developed a record card in 1933, and a group of citizens in Tasmania experimented with vocational guidance, interviewing school-leaving children.

New Zealand. Interest in vocational guidance in New Zealand grew out of a series of conferences called by the Department of Labor to discuss the difficulty of teaching trades to young people.

As an immediate result of these conferences the New Zealand Parliament passed an Apprentice Act (August 29, 1923) which required registration of all apprentices and set up the office of Registrar, who was to keep parents informed as to the occupational abilities and attainments shown by their children and to advise and assist the students in obtaining suitable employment. Since that time the Department of Education has expressed an interest in the educational aspects of vocational guidance by publishing a pamphlet describing occupational and educational opportunities. Various labor and workers' organizations have combined with educational departments to make possible the collection and distribution of occupational information. At Christchurch a guidance program has been developed through the co-operation of the Employers' Federation, the Trades Council, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Rural Vocational League, and the Technical High School.

Japan. Following the First World War, Japan began awakening to problems of occupational adaptation, and this led eventually to assumption by the long-established labor exchanges of responsibility for vocational guidance. The government in 1921 established labor exchanges as governmental activity and inaugurated a number of labor exchanges for purposes of giving work as well as vocational guidance to the unemployed. In 1922 the Department of Education established a lecture class in vocational guidance and became interested in individual differences in vocational abilities as manifested among school children.

In 1925 an agreement was reached by the Department of Education and the Department of Domestic Affairs making it possible for the primary schools and the employment bureaus to co-operate with each other. In November of 1927 the Department of Education issued to all the local governors instructions which emphasized the importance of considering the individual child and his vocational possibilities. Since this time the labor exchanges under the Department of Domestic Affairs have provided vocational advice and placement, while the primary schools have provided educational information and have attempted studies of individual abilities and of occupational information through visits to factories and shops. In addition to its labor offices and the work in its schools there are a number of private and municipal offices organized specifically to give vocational guidance to adults and children.

China. Vocational guidance in China grew out of the efforts of the National Association of Vocational Education in 1919 to pub-

licize the advantages of vocational guidance. As a result of their efforts active work had started by 1920, at first under a department of the association and later (1923) in its own department within the organization. In 1927 this department was transferred to become the Shanghai Vocational Guidance Bureau, the activities of which included giving occupational information, vocational surveys, vocational lectures, testing, vocational training, placement, guidance in the choice of a vocation, follow-up work, educational, legal, and health guidance.

The Educational Association of Kiangsu permitted vocational guidance to be introduced in 1924 into all the junior middle schools throughout the province. At the Chung Hwa Vocational School exploratory work, a study of occupations, and intelligence testing were required before students could enter upon one of the vocational curriculums. A vocational guidance office was established in Nanking in 1929. Within the high schools of Shanghai committees are frequently organized to hold interviews and lectures on guidance. In 1933 the Ministry of Education recognized educational and vocational guidance by issuing an outline for its organization in the elementary and secondary schools.

South American countries. Professor Kitson, writing in *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine* (May, 1937) reminds us that several countries of South America—Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina, and Brazil—have manifested interest in guidance, the first three having appointed national directors. Since 1925 Argentina has operated under the Secretary of Public Instruction, with Dr. Carlos Jesinghaus as director. Gregorico Fingermaun later established in Buenos Aires the Museo Sociale de Argentina Orientacion Vocacional.

Mexico. Psychologists and educators in Mexico have written and spoken on the subject of vocational guidance, and one of their professional organizations has organized a bureau.

Canada. In the year 1912 a number of men connected with the Winnipeg Industrial Bureau and with the Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau arranged a series of lectures for seventh- and eighth-grade children. These were published in the form of twenty or more pamphlets and widely distributed throughout Manitoba. Professor E. P. Fetherstonough of the University of Manitoba was one of the men specially interested, and Daniel McIntyre, Superintendent of Schools at Winnipeg, and Charles F. Roland, Secretary of the Educational Committee, arranged for the lectures. Twenty

business organizations were represented in this effort. The work was interrupted by the outbreak of war in 1914.

Beginning with 1912 the magazine *Training* advocated vocational guidance for Canadian youth. About 1920 a rule of the Ontario Department of Education allowed local school boards to appoint a vocational guidance officer and to support his activities. A series of bulletins was issued, and courses for training counselors were begun.

In recent years a number of Canadian cities have appointed school counselors, their work being very similar to that in the schools of the United States. Besides Winnipeg, London and Toronto are especially active. In 1938 a branch of the National Vocational Guidance Association was organized at Toronto. This association has published sixty-eight bulletins.

Summary. Some comparisons and contrasts were noted by the present writer in *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine* for January, 1938: Classes in occupational information seem to be unique to the United States (except for one instance in China), placement is common to all countries; colleges in other countries largely neglect guidance; France and several other countries approach guidance through medical services; guidance means advice rather than counseling in most other countries. Guidance in the strict sense depends for its life on the breath of a democratic atmosphere: without that it becomes vocational direction.

We are told by Dr. Keller that in his opinion Germany was well on the way to a sound vocational program at the time the Nazis came into power. A close relationship was being built up between public employment agencies and the schools, and democratic procedure was being used. He states likewise that corresponding effort in France and Sweden all seemed promising to him, and that with the hoped-for return of democracy to Europe effective programs of true vocational guidance may be expected.

In no one of the twenty or more countries mentioned above, nor elsewhere abroad, was there evidence of a systematic plan of educational and vocational guidance, including exploratory courses, occupational information, counseling, placement, and readjustment, controlled by the school, prior to the organization of the vocational guidance movement in the United States in 1908. Such a movement could begin only in a classless democracy. Because of its social and economic traditions, as well as its political philosophy, the United States was the "place of least resistance" for the beginnings and early growth of the movement.

Early Vocational Guidance in the Colleges

THE history of collegiate education would furnish a fertile ground for controversy regarding the origins of educational and vocational guidance. W. H. Cowley in "A Preface to the Principles of Student Counseling" (*Educational Record*, April, 1937) reminds us that the typical college before the Civil War had a clergyman for president and a faculty deeply interested in the personal well-being of students. Teaching was general rather than scholastic, and the professors had time and inclination for friendship. German influence, on which the modern, highly organized American university thrived, seemed to create a gap between teacher and taught. Tutorial influences from Oxford did not restore the old relationship, since tutors were interested only or chiefly in academic development.

Beginnings of educational guidance. E. G. Williamson in *How to Counsel Students* (1939) traces beginnings of personnel work and guidance to two movements: the discovery of the individual student as distinguished from the mass, and the attempt to adjust college studies to the needs of individual development, including other than instructional values. Thus President William R. Harper of the University of Chicago stated in 1905 that the plain duty of the college was to diagnose the individual student and then to prescribe for him that combination of studies which would best suit his needs (*The Trend in Higher Education*, pages 93-94). Another college president is said to have stated about the same time that the faculty should contain a "professor of students."

Harvard College in 1899 created a committee of freshmen advisers, of which Professor B. A. Bartlett was chairman. Fourteen faculty members engaged in the work, the chief item of which was periodically to inspect and approve the list of intended electives. There is little evidence that any other kind of guidance was given. Dean Le Baron R. Briggs, however, who served as Dean of Harvard College (practically a dean of students) from 1891 to 1902, was a man who helped students in manifold ways.¹ There was no recognized plan for guidance, however, except in the approval of electives. President Eliot was much given to "freedom" of the sink-or-swim

¹ He espoused in 1917 the proposition of introducing a course for occupational information, a plan which was not approved by the Committee on Instruction because it was considered inappropriate for the A.B. degree!

variety. Apparently the only advance by A. Lawrence Lowell (president 1909-33) was "concentration and distribution" in choice of studies and social contacts through the house plan. Neither man, apparently, saw that guidance takes an advantageous position between *laissez faire* and paternalism in education.

Stanford University, founded in 1891, frankly endeavored to combine liberal and vocational education. From the Founding Grant we read:

To establish and maintain at such University an educational system which will, if followed, fit the graduate for some useful pursuit, and to this end to cause the pupils, as early as may be, to declare the particular calling which in life they may desire to pursue.

Criticism of the liberal arts tradition. A program of liberal arts which does little or nothing to liberate the student from error of action has often received deserved criticism. An outstanding example of such a discussion was engineered beginning in 1897 by John Walker, editor of the *Cosmopolitan*. Walker possessed an energy and a forward look much like those of Frank Parsons. He started a broadside on the topic, "Modern College Education: Does it educate in the broadest and most liberal sense of the term?" In the April number he set up an extensive and detailed program of studies in such topics as ethics, love, business principles, phenomena of the mind, the science of health, sciences, languages, personal accomplishments, business preparation, citizenship, the arts, and manual skills. In reference to the selection of a profession he states:

Upon a wise choice depends not only agreeable duty but the measure of success. It is quite true that at the present time there is no course in any of the leading colleges which in any adequate way provides for the young man's proper equipment in this direction . . . The graduate does not go systematically to work to post himself regarding the professions, and in nine cases out of ten he selects his life work as most men select a house and lot, because it is the best of which he happens to know.

Walker gives instances of capital mistakes in this important decision. He then advocates a specific course setting forth the characteristics of occupations open to college graduates.

In the May, 1897, issue President Daniel C. Gilman of Johns Hopkins University proposed having a staff of special counselors for studying and advising students. This is the most definite proposal in the series of discussions.

In the July issue Harry Thurston Peck, Professor of Latin at

Columbia University, ridiculed the idea of help in vocational problems as a beautiful dream comparable to the laudable desire to make students virtuous and beautiful and successful husbands and fathers. He also stated, "When the perfume of the Attic violet is stifled by the stench of the chemist's crucible, the true purpose of the university is forgotten . . . for then there can exist no longer a distinct and definite type of university man."

In the August number President Timothy Dwight of Yale distinguished, rightly, between general and professional education, yet he saw no problem in the matter of *which* professional education to choose—a gap which vocational guidance in the liberal college might fill.

The following February (1898) eight questions were set up by Walker, with the announcement that they were being forwarded to the "chief officers of the leading universities in the United States, England, and Germany." Question No. 4 was as follows:

Inasmuch as the student, in a large percentage of cases, immediately following graduation enters upon a professional or business career and not infrequently assumes family cares, should not provision be made for thorough instruction by lectures on choice of occupation or profession—the intention being to afford him the widest possible information regarding the occupations of life, and to enable him to choose with knowledge rather than with prejudice?

The replies of President Thwing of the Western Reserve University and David Starr Jordan state that guidance is best handled through personal conversation, but make no clear proposals. In other numbers of the *Cosmopolitan* articles were written by President Henry Morton of the Stevens Institute of Technology, by Grant Allen, by Harper, and by Hadley.

Meanwhile in February, 1898, a series of interesting and valuable articles on the general topic, "The Selection of One's Life Work," was begun. The following extracts are from the first article, "The Importance of the Choice of a Profession or a Business," by E. Benjamin Andrews, formerly Superintendent of Schools in Chicago and before that President of Brown University:

The selection of the field in which one's life-work is to be done is a momentous act . . . At first glance it is surprising that comparatively little has been written on a subject so important . . . And, certainly, the choice must finally be made by each for himself . . . Yet few solve the problem of a life calling wholly without counsel . . . It is believed

that helpful direction of this kind may be extended further than it has yet been. There may also be usefully given some account of the special advantages and disadvantages of each several profession or calling, the rewards and amenities to be hoped for in it, and the temptations, hardships, and other infelicities which its devotees must brave. The present paper merely introduces the discussion of these topics on which other writers, specialists, will enlarge.

In the following month an article on "Careers in Science" was presented by Edward S. Holden, Director of the Lick Observatory. There followed during the course of the next three or four years articles on law, insurance, medicine, teaching, journalism, architecture, and civil engineering, and one on "Vocation and Avocation," besides an article on, "How to Choose a Life Work," by T. R. Slicer (August, 1900).

During 1900 also the *Forum*, *Living Age*, and the *Outlook* carried similar articles; one in the last-named periodical advocated a tryout as an aid to decision.

The campaign of the *Cosmopolitan* reached its climax in the February, 1900, number. Here Walker charged that faculties of colleges were stocked with special pleaders for a form of education two hundred years old and that every one of the writers had evaded the question, "On what lines should the education of the average youth be based?" Accordingly the *Cosmopolitan* planned an appeal to students and set aside a sum of money to be used as prizes for essays and debates in all the leading colleges throughout the country. The announcement stated that the last debate would be held at Harvard University. This statement aroused President Eliot, who wrote disapproving letters to all the colleges, and his influence, backed by that of others, led to the abandonment of the plan. The editor, in announcing this outcome, remarked, "The public will naturally ask: 'Why this disinclination to have this serious discussion regarding the branches that should be embraced in liberal education?'"

Whether or not the discussion of the question for debate—"What order of studies is best suited to fit the average man for his duties in the world of today?"—would have led to the comprehensive discussion of vocational guidance, this being eight years before the time of Parsons, is problematical. Incidentally it is highly probable that Parsons knew Walker and about this discussion.

Guidance at Stanford University in 1911. The first educational and vocational guidance survey of college students was undertaken by the faculty of Stanford University in 1911. Several committees

succeeded each other before the work was completed in 1913. Since each department had one member on the committee, a complete survey of practices in the university was easily possible. In addition an inquiry was sent to other colleges and universities in the country to learn what they were doing in individual training and vocational guidance.

The study of the departments at Stanford University revealed introductory or survey courses in four of the ten departments, individual instruction with frequent opportunity for individual counseling in three, freshman advising, talks, records, and counseling in one, a careful system of records in another, and traces of vocational guidance in three. The introductory course in botany and the freshman survey course on the electrical industries were planned specifically for guidance. One hour credit was allowed for the course on the electrical industries, which included lectures every two weeks and interviews. This course included such general topics as reasons for coming to college and the careful use of English. It was learned that most of the freshmen had an inaccurate idea of the work and the salaries.

The department of mechanical engineering had a similar program. Ten men were assigned to an adviser, with conferences every two weeks alternating with the lectures. One professor wished the department to study each student personally, determine the field of learning appropriate for him, and counsel him on how to study. After a year, however, these plans had to be given up because the extra work became too great a burden. The law department reported a second-year course, Introduction to the Study of Law, which was of a tryout or exploratory nature. An announcement states:

The course serves, therefore, not only to impart information about the study of law and to give preliminary training in such study, but also to give the student a chance to know what the study of law is like and whether he is fitted to pursue it.

Small laboratory classes with opportunity for individual instruction and attention were found in the physics department. The Latin department planned three conferences a semester with each student majoring in the department, to talk over his work. Occasionally matters not immediately connected with the studies but of vital importance to the individual life or career of the student were considered. In the department of physiology and histology, too, labora-

tory work under the close personal supervision of an instructor made possible individual advice and influence.

The English department had worked out an elaborate system of gathering statistics on printed forms, outlining courses of study, and follow-up conferences. The history department issued a circular of instruction and advice to its major students; its new students were assigned in small groups to instructors to be properly started in their work, and careful records of each student were kept, to be consulted before any special advice was given; such advice was always to be recorded. Beginning students in the department of geology and mining were called together early in the year and given a talk on the character of their work, and the vocational opportunities open to them. This effort and the lectures in the survey courses in the engineering departments were the chief early attempts at vocational guidance.

Guidance offered by colleges in 1912. When Stanford questioned other institutions, eighty-two colleges and universities responded. There were many more instances of educational guidance than of vocational guidance. The usual method was for students to report to a committee of faculty advisers until they had chosen a major subject; then the department chosen assumed the advising. At Dartmouth College, working under the direction of an executive committee composed of the president, the dean, and three other members, the advisers met new students every two weeks during the first semester, interested themselves in their college work, interests, and ideals, and discussed with them, through the first two years, electives for the next semester. At the University of Minnesota advisers were appointed so that students and faculty could learn each other's point of view. In 1911 the University of Michigan appointed from the faculty "mentors," enthusiastic men who served as the personal representatives of the dean, to whom they were responsible. They handled matters of social life, and from them the students received their grades. There was an adviser for each ten students. This work was supplemented by an assembly hour once a week at which different phases of university life were presented and explanations of the courses were given by the deans of the departments.

Formal courses in occupations for credit were rare at this time. The College of Engineering of the University of Illinois held assemblies once a week, which were addressed by representatives of the departments. The University of Washington planned for 1912-13

a series of orientation lectures for freshmen the second semester. The Reed College course on College Life has been noted elsewhere.

There were few attempts at vocational guidance throughout the country. Faculty advisers at Dartmouth College and Middlebury College offered advice on vocations, and Swarthmore College conducted correspondence with businessmen, who gave their judgments as to qualifications for successful careers. These letters were kept up to date and were accessible to students. At Wellesley College a few lectures on occupations open to women were given to seniors. The inquiry also showed a few instances of voluntary guidance by students. At Stanford University and the University of Wisconsin "vocation clubs" had been formed.

Questionnaire by a women's association. In 1917 a committee of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (now the American Association of University Women) sent out a questionnaire to one hundred and fifty-three colleges. Of the twenty reporting no vocational guidance work seven were vocational colleges. Only seven of the eighty-two replies reported deans giving vocational guidance; in a second questionnaire in 1919 nineteen deans were so reported. Seven of the advisers were teaching full time in addition to their vocational guidance work, and receiving no additional salary. In 1917 it was reported that in most cases the advisers had no relation to the appointment bureau. Questions on the use of psychological tests were added on the 1919 questionnaire; in forty of the sixty-nine responses no use of them was being made, though six of these were planning to introduce them soon; fourteen colleges reported some use of them. Only eight of the sixty-nine reporting in 1919 reported no vocational guidance work. The follow-up questionnaire showed marked progress, stimulated perhaps by the earlier survey.

An interesting service was started by Florence Jackson of the Boston Women's Educational and Industrial Union, who spoke at Wellesley College on occupational problems every Tuesday during the winter of 1911-12. Her appointments elsewhere gradually increased until she visited one hundred and seventy-five colleges in all.

A national survey in 1921. Through the encouragement and help of George F. Zook, then chief of the division of higher education of the national office of education, Lewis A. Maverick sent out a comprehensive questionnaire in 1921. His report, *The Vocational Guidance of College Students* (1926), was based on two hundred and fifty replies.

Orientation courses. Twenty-three institutions reported orientation classes. The content of the courses varied; many offered educational guidance, a few vocational guidance only. In 1917 the state university of Montana began offering a required freshman course called College Education. It dealt with the choice of a curriculum, elements of character and personality, and the vocational bearing of the university departments. Whitman College had a required freshman course in College Life, given by the president, in which vocational guidance was considered. Similarly the College of Emporia devoted a week of its College Problems course to occupations. Another course of this nature, which included career planning and the selection of curricula and courses, was given in 1917 at Harrison State Teachers' College, Virginia. In 1919 it was given by the same instructor once a week for one semester at Bridgewater College, Virginia. At the Southern Branch of the University of California, at Los Angeles, a required freshman course in orientation in thought and scholarship was given by the director. A freshman elective course at the University of Southern California related somewhat to vocations. At St. Olaf College, Minnesota, the freshman elective course in Personal Efficiency dealt with measurement of students' abilities, methods of efficient study and adjustment to college life, and advantages and requirements of the vocations of chief interest to the group. At Valparaiso University a class in the freshman year included the study of occupations.

There were a few courses, most of them in women's colleges or technical schools, devoted wholly to the study of occupations. Hood College had in 1918 in the freshman year an elective course for the study of occupations, which was later discontinued. At New Hampshire College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, too, courses for guiding freshmen in the choice of their work were given in two departments, but were discontinued after two years. Beginning in 1917 the College of the Pacific gave an elective course, Vocational Opportunities for Women. In 1921-22 Barnard College was offering Professional Occupations: Their Scope, Functions, and Newer Developments. Also the College of Industrial Arts, Texas, offered a sophomore elective (carrying credit) which covered the history of women in industry, the principal vocations open to women, and social and business ethics. At Macalester College, Minnesota, the president gave a required course in occupations. Boston University in its College of Business Administration gave in the junior year vocational conferences constituting a regular required course for

which credit was given. Ripon College, Wisconsin, reported at this time a course in the department of education for the study of vocations for these purposes: to acquaint the students with the vocations and to prepare high-school teachers for the work of vocational guidance.

Although the findings in courses in occupations are meager at this period, nevertheless students themselves were becoming conscious of their need of such training. An editorial in the *Harvard Crimson* of February, 1921, concerning the general aim of introductory courses asked that they partake of the nature of a general survey, rather than consist merely of a drill on fundamentals. The following excerpt from an editorial in the March 25, 1922, issue of the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* calls attention to the need for vocational guidance:

The college ought to be concerned with the student's choice of a career. It ought to help him to know himself and to find himself in the world, quite as much with respect to the important relationship which he bears to the economic order as with respect to his other relationships. Perhaps in time a survey of vocational opportunities and educational offerings will be made a part of the program of instruction.

Vocational conferences. At a number of institutions, vocational conferences which varied in length from a day to a week were held once a year; they were more popular at the women's colleges than at the men's. Bryn Mawr, De Pauw, Greensboro College, Temple University, the University of Idaho, the Illinois Women's College, Vassar, Wilson College, Wittenberg College, and Wheaton were among the first to hold such conferences. In some cases—at Greensboro College for example—the conference was held under the auspices of the Young Women's Christian Association. The Intercollegiate Vocational Guidance Association (see Chapter 12) held its first conference at Wheaton College in February, 1917; twenty colleges sent representatives. This association endeavored to plan and improve such conferences.

The chief drawback of the vocational conference held once a year lies in the fact that it tends to be inspirational rather than factual, as Maverick has pointed out. However, it may be helpful until the colleges place the work in the hands of experienced people.

Lectures on vocations. Several institutions reported lectures or series of lectures on vocational topics. At Yale a course of lectures was given to freshmen on "The True Value of a College Course," and there were addresses on the choice of a career. Trinity College,

too, reported lectures on fields of study and occupations. Stanford University, the University of California, and Wesleyan College, Georgia, reported series of lectures on fields of study and occupations as well as on other vocational topics. At the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, during the first half of the two-year course, a series of lectures was given in which experts in different fields of business outlined the advantages and disadvantages of their occupations as life careers. The lectures were followed by conferences. At Hunter College ten lectures were given by the chairman of the Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupations. At the University of Idaho such lectures were given occasionally for interested students. At Williams College from 1913 to 1916 lectures and round-table conferences on vocations were held, a special fund having been given for this purpose.

The counselor or vocational director. The title of vocational director appeared only occasionally in the 1921 reports. At Lombard College, Illinois, a vocational director held conferences with students; at the University of Washington there was a vocational secretary; and vocational counselors were reported at Temple University and at the College of Industrial Arts, Texas. At Northwestern University, Illinois, in the College of Commerce there was a general vocational adviser and in the College of Liberal Arts a special faculty adviser for students in preprofessional courses. The Yale freshmen advisers had twenty to forty men each; they emphasized personal contact rather than advising.

Among the women's colleges Smith reported counseling service and Wellesley a vocational counselor. Radcliffe had a Director of the Appointment Bureau. Catherine Filene was vocational director at Wheaton College and director of the Intercollegiate Vocational Guidance Association. In 1921 Goucher established a personnel office and Vassar a bureau of personnel research.

Despite the fact that there were few authorized full-time vocational counselors or directors, counseling about educational matters and occasionally in regard to vocations was given in the colleges more systematically, the 1921 reports indicate, than in 1912. Usually it was the duty of a dean. The University of Detroit reported a dean and a regent in each department who looked after, counseled, and guided students. A popular method was for student advisers to report to a committee of faculty advisers until the new students chose a major department; then the committee assumed the advising.

Visiting counselors from city bureaus of occupations such as the

Bureau of Vocational Information, formerly the Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupations for Trained Women, New York, the Educational and Industrial Union, Boston (1910), the Collegiate Bureau of Occupations, Chicago, and similar organizations in Philadelphia, Cleveland, Denver, Detroit (1916), and Minneapolis, and the Southern Woman's Educational Alliance, Richmond, founded in 1914, supplemented the work of resident officers.

College publications. The survey revealed also examples of the publication of occupational information by colleges and universities. Ohio Wesleyan University issued a series of small folders between the years 1912 and 1921, on such subjects as the college and journalism, college and law, and the college and the ministry. Between 1915 and 1924 (the individual dates are not known) the Division of Vocations at the University of Kansas issued a series of twenty-five mimeographed studies of vocations, written by members of the faculty. "The Vocational Value of French and Latin," is one title from the series. The small folders issued at Beloit College about 1916 contained both educational and vocational guidance; *Courses Offered in the Department of Economics* and *Training for Journalistic Writing and Editorial Work* are two examples. In 1918 the Bureau of Appointments at Oberlin issued a bulletin, *Vocational Advice for College Students*, which gave for each field the technical or professional courses offered at Oberlin, professional courses with entrance requirements, and advice from several authorities. The Stanford University Committee on Vocational Guidance, also, issued (1919) a bulletin for students which discussed occupations under these broad headings: personal qualifications, financial considerations, attractions, preparation, and special considerations. The *Occupations Toward Which Wellesley Courses May Lead*, a bulletin of 1918 listing in each field the occupations or subdivisions, institutions for special training, admission requirements, personal qualifications desired, and Wellesley courses contributing toward preparation, is one such contribution. *How to Obtain Information Regarding 450 Occupations for Which Kansas State Agricultural College Trains Men and Women* is a bulletin (1921) of the committee of vocational guidance of that institution, listing the faculty member to consult and giving footnote references to alumni who might be consulted. Occupational guidance began at West Virginia University in 1922 by the publication of leaflets on occupations for which the university was offering final or preprofessional training. During the first semester of 1924-25 ten thousand of these leaflets were distributed.

Organizing the Liberal Arts College for Vocational Guidance was the title of a small pamphlet issued by Middlebury College in 1923.

Beginning in 1921 there was published a vocational series, which included such volumes as Francis B. Pearson's *The Teacher* and Charles Lewis Slattery's *The Ministry*, conveying information arranged for college students.

Following the war, experimental beginnings were being made in testing for diagnostic purposes. The University of California, Pomona College, the University of Colorado, Valparaiso University, and Boston University reported the use of an intelligence test. The College of Business Administration of Boston University used blanks for rating students. The Iowa State Teachers' College and the College of Emporia, Kansas, reported a vocational questionnaire to applicants. The latter institution also sent out a precollege information blank. In 1925 Cornell reported having used a rating card for several years. Seashore at Iowa was beginning to report on the use of examinations as a basis for sectioning students in classes according to ability. A number of promising plans were described in *Guidance for College Women*, by Mabelle B. Blake (1925), and in *Counseling the College Student*, by Helen D. Bragdon (1929). Both contain comprehensive bibliographies.

Placement in the colleges. Of the two hundred replies to Maverick's survey indicating some form of guidance, thirty-two definitely mentioned placement. Twelve reported placement for teachers; one college placed teachers and preachers. Bowdoin College, Maine, had a very comprehensive scheme: the country was divided geographically, and in each district the alumni were organized to help new graduates. City placement bureaus for college women in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia were noted. In the report from Goucher College tryout experiences were mentioned; Dr. Iva Peters arranged these in co-operation with Baltimore employers.

Some progress but many lacks. In summary it appears that there was considerable progress in the spread of vocational guidance in colleges during the decade following the earlier survey of 1911-13. Brown and Dartmouth did pioneer work in this field. By 1921 a few colleges and universities had many-sided guidance programs. For example the vocational department of Boston University was established in 1914. The guidance activities included frequent conferences with individuals, the junior-year course previously mentioned, the use of intelligence tests and blanks for rating students, a bulletin

in 1919 on *Vocational Counseling and Supervised Employment*, and various examples of research and experiment.

The orientation course at Brown University was a very comprehensive one, including such topics as the history of the university, the aims of the college, student activities, the library, hygiene, manners, reading, methods of study, spare time, religion. In 1917 the writer instituted such a course at the Los Angeles Normal School; it was more closely confined to curriculum matters. In 1926 Henry J. Doermann issued his study, *The Orientation of College Freshmen. The Choice of an Occupation* was the title of a Yale University pamphlet prepared by Stuart H. Clement and A. B. Crawford (1929); it contained an introductory statement on choice. Maurice J. Neuberg began at Wittenberg College in 1928 a class in occupations for college students, and in 1934 issued in textbook form *The Principles and Methods of Vocational Choice*.

We deal here with earliest efforts; issues and monographs by the American Council on Education, articles in *The Vocational Guidance Magazine* and *Occupations*, and reports by other agencies have kept the field abreast of later developments. "Personnel work in the college" it is generally called.

On the whole the colleges have shown reluctance toward vocational guidance; some professors do not distinguish it from vocational education. Forty replies to Maverick's questionnaire indicated no guidance effort, and many gave their reasons. A college for women stated that since their institution was a vocational one vocational guidance was unnecessary!

However, the logic of the times and of life in a democratic society points toward the serious exercise of vocational guidance in the college, and in spite of plans tried and abandoned guidance is increasingly being recognized as an integral preparation for right adjustment to the social order.

Educational and Other Forms of Guidance

Universality of guidance. Helpfulness of one individual to another of a kind properly called guidance is as old as humanity. The Bible and the classics are full of it. Naturally enough such assistance often grew out of the problems of vocational life. "Study to show thyself . . . a workman that needeth not to be ashamed" is an instance. The booklet *Present for an Apprentice* (1742) starts with the vocation but offers advice on all sorts of other matters. Richard Steele in his book of sermons, *The Husbandman's Calling* (1684), discussed "the lawfulness of the calling; the excellencies thereof; the inconveniences; his temptations, lessons from the calling (from grass, stones, fences—with one break in the fence the colt can get away), graces required, rules for his calling." Steele's *The Trades-man's Calling* of the same year was issued later as *The Religious Tradesman*. It was a discourse concerning the nature, necessity, choice, etc., of a calling in general, and directions for the right managing of the tradesman's calling in particular.

An interesting sample is a *Bundle of Letters to Busy Girls on Practical Matters*, compiled from the Tuesday evening talks to the Thirty-eighth Street Working Girls' Society, by Grace H. Dodge in 1887.

Such books and many of those noted in our Chapter II were the beginnings in ethical and religious as well as vocational guidance. Need we add here all the great teachers from Socrates to Emerson and Lincoln?

Educational Guidance. Six years after Parsons, in 1914, Truman L. Kelley at Teachers College, Columbia University, made use of the term "educational guidance" to describe the help given in choice of studies and in other school adjustments.¹ It was used as the title of his doctoral thesis, a statistical investigation of aptitudes for various school studies.

¹ George E. Myers in his *Principles and Techniques of Vocational Guidance* (1941) notes that in the April 1912 *Elementary School Teacher* (later *Journal*) an editorial is titled "Report on Educational Guidance," but that the text is wholly vocational. In the April 1914 number of *The Practical Arts Magazine* James S. Hiatt uses the expression "Vocational Guidance is Educational Guidance," but he means merely that the former must result in important changes in education. The present writer used the term wrongly in Chapter 3 of *The Vocational Guidance Movement* (1918),

Educational like vocational guidance was not new. Plato had much to say on choice of studies, Montaigne and others of his time discussed university studies in relation to aptitude. Francis Bacon in *Of Studies* (1625) discussed methods of study. Books on colleges guided parents if not students. Our Appendix gives many supplementary illustrations, before organized guidance began.

Closely following Parsons, though probably seldom influenced by him, came a number of works on how to study and related topics. Lida B. Earhart's *Teaching Children to Study* appeared in 1909, accompanied the same year by Frank M. McMurry's *How to Study and Teaching How to Study*. Ernest Carroll Moore, who was greatly interested in these books, had conducted a course for teachers in 1910 while superintendent of schools in Los Angeles. Moore found Descartes' *Discourse on Method* a valuable contribution on how to study, as also Fichte's *Vocation of Man* and Emerson's essays on "Intellect" and "Self-Reliance." He advised taking Montaigne's warning seriously, that "to know by heart is not to know at all."

In 1915 Sir John Adams issued his manual for teachers and advanced students, *Making the Most of One's Mind*. The following year Guy M. Whipple issued his *How to Study Effectively*. Other early books or pamphlets for teachers or pupils are the following:

- Harry D. Kitson, *How to Use Your Mind* (1916)
- George F. Swain, *How to Study* (1917)
- F. W. Thomas, *Training for Effective Study* (1922)
- Mark A. May, *How to Study in College* (1924)
- R. L. Lyman, *The Mind at Work* (1924)
- L. A. Headley, *How to Study in College* (1926)
- William F. Book, *How to Succeed in College* (1927)

Many magazine articles accompanied these volumes. William F. Book in 1927 advocated a required course on how to study for all freshmen in college. Attention to other and more general features of educational guidance were hinted in H. G. Black's *Paths to Success* (1924) and Walter G. Clippinger's *An Orientation Course for College Freshmen and High School Seniors* (1926). Added to these references must be put numerous books referred to in our earliest chapters and in the chapter on guidance in the colleges.

Individualized methods. Some writers would include Frederic Burk, Helen H. Parkhurst, and Carleton W. Washburne in the history of educational guidance, because they carried out the plans of independent study based on unit assignments. Burk's pamphlet *In*

Re Everychild Versus Lockstep Schooling (1915) is an important historical document, but the guidance phase of this work is restricted, consisting as it does mainly in helping the individual to learn independent methods of study.² Nor did these workers carry their methods into other phases of guidance.

Similar comments apply to the men and women of the movement for progressive education. Revision of the curriculum and the inauguration of better methods of teaching, important as they are, relate to administration rather than to guidance, though they furnish, it must be conceded, a more favorable atmosphere for the latter.

Educational guidance takes many forms. Educators were quick to see that the tools used in vocational guidance—exploratory courses, information classes, counseling, etc.—could be redesigned for use in helping to achieve success in the school and college career. Accordingly parallel developments appeared in both fields; let us turn to one in generalized or exploratory courses in school subjects designed to discover ability or disability and thus to guide in choice of further study.

General science finds a place. One of the first books to exploit guidance possibilities of a general course in the first year of the secondary school was *Elementary General Science, with experiments* (1913), by Percy Elliott Rowell of Berkeley, California. The Preface stated:

Teaching the applications of science to the industries and the arts will give the pupils the first insight into their own desires and capabilities. They will thus begin unconsciously to prepare themselves along the line of prevocational work. Later they will also realize the dignity of labor, and the science teaching may easily develop into the various branches of vocational work, and the pupils may be given the rare opportunity of truly choosing their career in life.

The aim of the general science course as stated in Rowell's 1911 edition of the textbook was to "overcome narrowness and stimulate ambition." In a 1914 textbook, *First Year Science*, another California writer, William H. Snyder, stated the scope and exploratory aim of the course as follows:

² S. A. Courtis, in a historical sketch on "Individualization" in the 37th Yearbook (Part II) of the National Society for the Study of Education, lists Preston Search's *An Ideal School* (1903); an article by L. Witmer, "The Psychological Clinic" (1907); a government report, *Provision for Exceptional Children in Public Schools*, by J. H. Van Sickle and L. P. Ayres (1911); E. L. Thorndike's *Education* (pp 60-70) (1912); an article by Burk in 1917; and other items.

All subjects of elementary school science—physics, chemistry, meteorology, botany, zoology, physiology, astronomy, physiography, forestry, and agriculture—are treated, so that the pupil can find out for himself which ones he wishes to study later in the course.

Several other books followed. Within ten years after the beginnings of the vocational guidance movement an exploratory or tryout course in science had often become part of the curriculum of the secondary school.

General mathematics in the junior high school. General mathematics, defined by Ralph Schorling³ in a chapter on this subject as "an introductory, basic, exploratory course in which the simple and significant principles of arithmetic, algebra, intuitive geometry, statistics, and numerical trigonometry are taught so as to emphasize their natural and numerous interrelations," began to appear in the junior high school curriculum about twenty years ago. It is distinct from the senior high school "correlated mathematics" movement that became important after 1902.

In 1919 *The Mathematics Teacher* carried an article by David Eugene Smith of Columbia University, "Introductory Course in Mathematics," which stated clearly the case for the new course. It presented the following plan for three years of mathematics in the junior high school: arithmetic and intuitive geometry in grade seven; algebra (formula, equation, the graph, and the negative number), business arithmetic, and applied algebra in grade eight; and trigonometry and demonstrative geometry in grade nine. Of the tryout and guidance values of such a program Professor Smith wrote:

It seems criminal, therefore, to close to him the opportunity of trying himself in the larger domain; in other words, a subject which touches such a wide range of human interests and which offers the only knowledge of deductive logic that the school has at its command, should be made known to every student. This means the requiring of mathematics in the ninth school year. . . . It may be said that a student will not know much mathematics after such a course. . . . What he will know, however, is what three important parts of mathematics are about; he will know certain very important uses of the subject; and he will have tried himself out. . . . If it is said that a smattering will dull the edge of interest, the answer is that every student who enters the *École Normale Supérieure* or the *École Polytechnique* of France has gone through a similar smattering, yet no schools in the world stand higher in mathematics. . . . The student has now weighed his mental powers in the

³ *The Teaching of Mathematics, A Source Book and Guide* (1936), p. 52.

balance; he has shown whether or not he may profitably proceed with a subject which may carry him into the purest realm of thought, into the most profound speculations, or into the most important applications of science. Thereafter his work in mathematics should be the result of careful sympathetic conference with his advisers at home and in school.

Such thinking led naturally to a realization of the wisdom of providing similar courses in all branches of learning. The concluding paragraph of the article begins:

What I ask for mathematics I would ask for every branch of knowledge that touches such a wide range of human interests,—art, science, language, *belles lettres*, history;—that every student in our high schools shall come to know what these subjects mean, how they touch and have touched humanity, and whether or not he or she is fitted to and cares to enter upon the serious study of one or more of them.

Two 1919 textbooks arranged according to the new plan are *General Mathematics*, by Ralph Schorling and William David Reeve, and *Fundamentals of High School Mathematics*, by Harold O. Rugg.

For the student of educational guidance the new course is significant not only because it is so interesting and successful that it has won the support of teachers, but also because it affords instruction in the different types of mathematics early, before the pupils begin to drop out of school in large numbers, teaching skills useful in living, and because it provides an exploratory course as a basis for educational guidance.

General language courses appear. Three different trends have been referred to as general language: (1) Esperanto, begun in 1887, (2) a course on the development and function of language, and (3) a course offering actual lessons in some of the important foreign languages, on the basis of which language ability and aptitude can be discovered as a guide to choosing further courses. It is the last of these trends with which educational guidance is concerned.

One of the first textbooks on general language, *An Exploratory Course in General Language* (1926), was written by Lucy B. Mallory and five other teachers of West Hartford, Connecticut. It is in six chapters: Introduction, Latin, French, Spanish, German, Word Study. According to the Preface,

General Language is the result of an attempt to meet an actual need in the junior high school of West Hartford, Connecticut, for a tryout course in languages. . . . In its present form this book is the third revision. The first two editions were mimeographed for our pupils' use.

The interest in the subject and the many inquiries received have prompted the publication in book form.

Three of the aims of the work are stated :

To present a foretaste of the study of foreign language, and by so doing to give the pupils what has been termed a language sense; to give the individual pupil, his teachers, and his parents some basis for judging whether he should continue the study of a *specific language* further; to reduce through educational guidance the mortality which usually accompanies the first year's study of any foreign language.

The exploratory general language course has been criticized. E. C. Cline (*School Review*, September, 1928) distinguished between an exploratory course and what he thinks general language should be: not a study *in* language, primarily, but a study *about* language. The outline of his course at Richmond, Indiana, included: language as the expression of ideas, historical and social background of language and languages, and the learning of languages. He explains that the general language courses were begun to prevent Latin from losing prestige because of the adoption of electives; he considers it to belong under the English department, with genuine tryout lessons in languages given during the last few weeks of the course.

A rather different approach is shown in a later book, *In Foreign Lands, an Exploratory Language Course* (1934), by B. Hughson and O. Gostick, of Sacramento, California. The authors make this statement of aims :

The advisability of the early introduction of pupils to languages other than their own is undebatable. Its purposes are fourfold: first, that the pupils at a highly imaginative and impressionable age may be taught to appreciate the differences in nationalities, languages and environment; second, that they may develop a sympathetic understanding of foreign peoples; third, that they may absorb something of the culture of other lands; fourth, that those who are planning a more intensive language training may make a more intelligent choice of the language or languages which they wish to study.

In *The Teaching of Language* (1934) Algernon Coleman said that the question of a general language course was largely an administrative question; teachers are not interested in such a course except for prognosis, and the psychologists can do that. This may be the viewpoint of many language teachers. Perhaps on account of these differences of aim the general language idea has not prospered as have other courses of an exploratory nature.

The sampling and the information aims. It will be noted in the above discussion that some classes may be designed to give sample tasks in subject matter, whereas other classes may offer information (and wisdom, we hope) *about* the area. In vocational guidance the general shop illustrates the first aim, the class in occupational information the second.

Our earliest instance of a proposal for an information course in educational guidance was that of William Thum (he amassed a fortune in sticky flypaper and later became mayor of Pasadena) who advocated in an article in *The Arena* of December, 1907, an eighth-grade course on the advantages to be derived from a high school education. (He had a special scheme for high school; he would have each pupil work five hours a day and attend school three hours.) The point of view for the course was as follows:

One period two or three times a week for one term in the eighth grade might be given to a textbook on the advantages to be derived from an earnest high school education. This book should create in every healthy mind, a desire to learn, and should show that efficiency in some activity for self-support, a knowledge of the foundations of literature, science, music, and art are essential to a happy after life; it should show that steadily increasing knowledge is one of the necessities of our modern life, and that a high school training is practically indispensable as a means toward these ends. In order that our youth may obtain the full benefit of high school training, it is necessary that every boy who is physically able, should earn and pay his own expenses after arriving at the age of sixteen.

The courses in guidance that have grown from such proposals are meeting the need expressed by Thum, but textbooks and classes have been planned to combine in the one course both vocational and educational information, including material on how to study.

The vestibule idea. A recent development in two Maryland high schools⁴ combines samples and information, together with testing and counseling, in a six-weeks "vestibule" for entering pupils. During this period every pupil may sample all or almost all of the elective studies available, tests are given, and the final programs for the freshman year are made up only after all the available facts are in, including the wishes of parents and of the pupils themselves. There seems to be much promise in such a scheme.

Classifying and grading pupils. In the decade of the twenties

⁴R. F. Cromwell, "A Suggested Program of Guidance" (ms. The George Washington University, 1940).

much attention was given to recognizing individual differences and classifying students according to ability. In many large schools divisions were made on the basis of teachers' marks and intelligence tests. In the smaller schools, as in some classrooms, differences were provided for by minimum and maximum assignments, each member of the class making the best contribution of which he was capable.

The use of scales for measuring performance of children and for guiding their instruction was an important aid to teachers in the process of individualizing education. A useful book in this work was *The Scientific Measurement of Classroom Products*, by J. Crosby Chapman and Grace P. Rush (1917). This book reproduces scales for measuring abilities rather than knowledge; one cannot but regret the present emphasis on tests of mere knowledge. "Knowledge is important" is the expressed justification! But wisdom and the skills of right living are of greater importance.

Relative percentile ranking according to the normal curve, a form of which has recently been adopted by the College Entrance Examination Board, has been introduced into the schools. Sometimes individual progress charts are used to encourage school children to compete with their own records.

One argument in favor of the new-type tests—true or false, multiple choice, completion, and matching—is that the scoring can be more objective. As the tests are revised, care is being taken to minimize the credit for guessing. With this fault put aside, the advantage of a test that permits a wide sampling of information to be tested in a short time with relatively little fatigue may easily be seen. It is recognized, however, that such tests must be supplemented by the discussion type of question, to teach the student how to organize his own constructive ideas and express them clearly.

While all such devices seem more nearly related to administration than to guidance they have generally been advocated under the term educational guidance. The Pennsylvania study⁵ and many other investigations have furnished tests and norms for wholesale jobs of examining pupils (and teachers) on a relatively objective basis.

Here should be mentioned the aids to self-discovery and appraisal developed in the schools of Providence. Tests and other devices are used extensively in the classroom itself, scored by the pupil himself, and at his own initiative used as data for counseling. (See Richard D. Allen's *Self Measurement Projects in Group Guidance* and Or-

⁵ William S. Learned, *The Student and His Knowledge* (1938). See also reports of the American Council on Education.

ganization and Supervision of Guidance, 1934.) Such in-class testing was practiced by Carl E. Seashore at Iowa State University between 1912 and 1918.

College exploratory courses. Thus far attention has been given to the emergence of exploratory courses and the class for educational and occupational information, to classifying students, and to teaching how to study in the early years of the secondary school. Similar changes have been taking place in the college. Because so many courses are offered from which to choose, college students need preliminary samples, and high school experience is insufficient for the purpose.

There grew up a tendency to offer introductory courses in the major fields of learning in the freshman year. Great Books, offered by Charles Mills Gayley at the University of California as early as 1900, was such a general course. At Columbia University in 1919 a course of this kind was called *Introduction to Civilization*. It included a study of the physical world, historical background of the present, and current governmental, economic, educational problems—a scope doubtless too large.

Another interesting exploratory course was put into book form as *The Nature and the World of Man* (1926) by sixteen members of the University of Chicago faculty. This book gives an outline of the physical and biological world:

The survey course was designed to give capable students a preliminary view of the rich intellectual fields that lie before them so that, on the one hand, all of their work shall have a large measure of unity and coherence, and, on the other hand, they will be able to decide early what particular subjects they may wish more thoroughly to explore. . . . The success of this educational experiment, from the standpoint of both instructors and students, has seemed to make advisable the production of this volume.

Such courses, supplemented by individual counseling, have proved to be valuable for the educational guidance of students.

College orientation courses. In a discussion of informational courses (*about the college*) in the *Orientation of College Freshmen* (1926) Henry J. Doermann gives this list of purposes (page 97) one or more of which had appeared in the stated aims of the courses given in 1926:

1. To enable the student to understand the college curriculum
2. To give a survey of significant fields of knowledge

3. To enable the student to understand and make better adjustments to college life
4. To enable the student to understand present-day problems
5. To train the student in thinking
6. To teach how to study
7. To orient the student with respect to a career

Reed College, Oregon, had in 1911-12 a course, College Life, including choice of studies, methods of study, and choice of vocation.⁶ Twenty-seven orientation lectures were given at Brown University in 1915-16.

The purposes of the College Aims course at Antioch, which is one of the most complete courses of this kind, were defined by President Morgan (1921) as follows:

First, to indicate to the student the major issues, problems, and experiences in everyday life, for which his college training should be a preparation.

Second, to teach him to budget his time and energies so as to eliminate the less essential and to include the more essential undertakings while at college.

Third, to teach him how to study.

Fourth, to make a survey of possible callings, and to indicate the manner in which he can best make an analysis of his own qualifications and the demands of the calling in order that he can make a wise choice.

Fifth, to give an understanding of the purpose of scientific observation and research, and of the use of the imagination in scientific study in the fields of physical science, biology, psychology, history, etc.

Sixth, to give him an idea of what contribution he may expect to receive from the various courses offered at the college.

Such efforts, combined with freshman week as established at the University of Maine in 1923, and the various tutorial systems in England and in our eastern colleges, were early attempts to furnish educational guidance to college students.

Guidance for other activities. It seems safe to say that vocational and educational guidance were developed first and earliest elaborated. Meanwhile in so far as physical education and physiology functioned in habit formation it may be said to have offered guidance in health habits; likewise the study of civics may have had effect in the activities of citizenship; perhaps student activities and student

⁶ Lewis A. Maverick, *The Vocational Guidance of College Students* (1926), p. 22.

government assisted. And Sunday schools hoped that they were guiding in religious and ethical activities.

Yet it seems fair to assert that school studies upon the whole were terribly preoccupied with *knowledge* and rarely concerned themselves with *action*. A spirit of defeatism might almost be said to have dominated the schools and colleges, so far as guidance in acquiring *skills* was concerned, and this at a time when every good parent and every effective employer was able to achieve just that result.

At the early national conventions on vocational guidance the need for other kinds of guidance was voiced occasionally. At New York in 1912 the importance of leisure-time activities was stressed twice. In summarizing one of the sessions Frances Perkins said:

It has been stated recently by William D. Haywood, and Professor Simon N. Patten of the University of Pennsylvania, both of whom have arrived at the same conclusions from entirely different points of view, that the most important question before the working class today is how to gain more leisure and how to use that leisure. That is a thing I think we are forgetting when we talk about work and the importance of work. We are forgetting the importance of leisure, and of the security and personal satisfaction of the persons doing the work.

A little later in the conference, Arthur D. Dean of the State Education Department of New York made this statement in his address:

Then there is the problem of educating people for leisure as well as for vocation. Some day we shall probably have a National Society for the Promotion of Education for Leisure. In other words, there is involved in our plan not only the job of fitting people to work, but also the job of fitting them to live.

Another speaker was anxious to have school men turn to what he termed "the vocation of citizenship" as soon as the idea of vocational guidance was accepted. In speaking on "What Business Expects of the Schools," J. Franklin Crowell of the *Wall Street Journal* discussed discipline, knowledge, adaptability to changing conditions, and loyalty to the organizations and institutions of the day. On this last point he said:

The fourth requirement is to give the pupil some appreciation of his connectional relations to the life in which he lives. He is not an A No.1 candidate for success unless he respects and is loyal to his home. He is not an A No.1 candidate for success unless he is loyal to his business. He is not an A No.1 candidate for success unless he is loyal to his school

tasks. He is not an A No.1 candidate for success unless he is loyal and faithful to the cultural agencies of his time, to his church, and his improvement agencies, organizations, and so forth; and above all, he is no sort of a candidate for success if he is not loyal to his nation and to his state and his city.

In 1914 Jesse B. Davis issued his *Vocational and Moral Guidance*. (In the *English Journal* of October, 1912, he had set forth his plan.) Ethical training, so called, has of course a long history—one might add, an indifferent history. Davis apparently first specifically made it a matter of guidance.

On September 3, 1915, in a talk at Tacoma, Washington, Meyer Bloomfield used the expression, "All education is now recognized as guidance" (*Tacoma Ledger*, September 4, 1915). This statement was made in an address to teachers on the subject of vocational guidance, and the context of the statement bears no explanation of what the author had in mind. Perhaps he was influenced by Eliot's famous essay on the life-career motive, in which the President of Harvard seemed to recognize little other than a vocational outcome for college studies; at any rate, the context of Bloomfield's statement is entirely vocational. Nevertheless it is a striking declaration of a hope for better forms of education—a hope which perhaps will not be fully realized for many decades.

Should all education be devoted to guidance? In 1918 there was issued the famous pamphlet, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, for more than a decade the best seller of the United States Office of Education. Its insistence that the true aim of education should be help toward effective living in the several areas of human activity was a challenge to existing procedures. However, the thirty-two pages of this document were too few to set forth the necessary implementation of the idea; even the implications for guidance are not definitely stated.

Following these declarations a number of writers began to direct their attention to life activities rather than to subjects; examples are Alexander J. Inglis in *Principles of Secondary Education* (1918), William M. Proctor in *Educational and Vocational Guidance* (1925), and Aubrey A. Douglass in *Secondary Education* (1927).

"Education as Guidance" was the title of a *School and Society* article of December 23, 1922, by John M. Brewer; it advocated placing skilled living activity as the objective of education, with knowledge and wisdom as tools. Ten years later the writer issued

his book of the same title. These writings elaborated the view that schools and colleges exist to guide the young in their individual and co-operative activities—school life, home membership, citizenship, vocation, leisure and recreation, personal well-being, religion.

A recent pronouncement indicating that all education should result in the guidance of its beneficiaries is from Harold Benjamin in his Editor's Introduction to Myers' *Principles and Techniques of Vocational Guidance* (1941). He implies further that instruction is neither a primary aim of education nor co-ordinate with guidance, but is rather a means to the guidance aim:

Today they [the teachers] are attempting the vastly more complex and comprehensive task of leading fellow learners to change their own ways in the direction of great ideals for community living. . . . The skills and information taught today, whether verbal, numerical, aesthetic, social, or scientific, are richer, stronger, and more complex than they were one hundred years ago precisely because they are now taught as tools and devices for the achievement of great ends rather than as ends in themselves.

Whether or not these views will influence education markedly remains to be determined; at any rate students of vocational guidance have contributed to these broader concepts. The notion of having classes, laboratory activity groups, and counseling in educational guidance, guidance for leisure-time activities, citizenship, home membership, and the other activities sounds strange at first; but the idea of learning what people have to do in order to live well, and making that the subject matter to be taught in school, is a startlingly simple one. These developments, whether or not they go far, all grew out of or were promoted by the beginnings in vocational guidance.⁷

The movement called Child Guidance. Out of the interest in mental hygiene, and apparently not influenced by vocational guidance, grew up during the twenties the effort called child guidance. Its propo-

⁷ That some progress has been made with the school program of studies was shown in *Offerings and Registrations in High School Subjects, 1933-34*, U.S. Office of Education (1938), which we have already noted in Chapter 10. Schools enrolling about five and a half million pupils were surveyed, of whom a million and a quarter were in the ninth grade. Measured against this enrollment for a single year, the following percentages of the total number of pupils were reported as studying the designated subjects: general science 94, general industrial work 42, elementary business 28, general mathematics 22, occupations 15, general foreign language 10, library work 2, girls' social problems 2, psychology 1. Some other topics, studied by less than 1 per cent, were how to study, orientation, special help, home mechanics, family relations, social arts, beauty culture, Red Cross, accident prevention, Bible.

nents interested themselves in habit formation for infants and young children, chiefly of preschool age. Logically enough, abnormalities of behavior on the part of the child were in large numbers of cases found to be due to ignorant or selfishly stupid behavior patterns practiced by parents in dealing with the child. Great good has resulted from the clinical guidance of parents and children. The movement is as yet largely dissociated from the work of the schools, though in a few communities the advantage is seen of continuing the records and the treatments into the elementary grades.

Status at the end of the first dozen years. Vocational guidance by 1920, having made a creditable beginning in the development of effective facilities and having established itself in a number of school systems, now was influential in the corresponding development of systematic educational guidance. Although naturally debate on students' choice of studies and other related problems had gone on long before 1908, the new impetus led to more effective tools and procedures.

Moreover more than one worker in vocational guidance had begun to suspect that the techniques and facilities used by this form of guidance might with great benefit be adapted for education in other areas of life activity—guidance first for successful progress through the educational career itself, then likewise for progressive decisions and problem-solving in the home, citizenship, care of the person, leisure and recreation, religion, ethical life, and all the rest. Accordingly vocational guidance has begun to make a contribution to educational theory and practice far beyond that which was at first intended and planned.

Chapter XIX

Six Years of the National Occupational Conference¹

By EDWIN A. LEE

AN INTERESTING chapter in the history of occupational adjustment was completed when the National Occupational Conference closed its doors on September 30, 1939. More than six years before—in February, 1933—organization of the Conference was announced by Morse A. Cartwright, director of the American Association for Adult Education, in which organization the N.O.C. resided financially. The time was propitious for such an organization. Depression was playing havoc with the schools of the nation. Thousands of youth were being graduated from schools and colleges annually into a world that had millions of unemployed adults and seemed to offer no occupational security for anyone. Here and there, however, were cities and institutions in which youth in surprising numbers went from school to work in occupations for which they had been trained. Some of these schools approximated perfect placement records. Others were solving the problems of vocational guidance in commendable fashion. Nowhere, however, was there any agency for clearing information and practice concerning the problem. Out of this need for a central clearinghouse the National Occupational Conference was created.

In the six and a half years that followed, the Carnegie Corporation of New York appropriated approximately half a million dollars for work in this field. Part of this was for the support of the N.O.C., part for research and related projects conducted by the Conference, and part for projects undertaken by co-operating organizations. The work has included studies of occupations, research in the measurement of individual differences having occupational significance, experiments, demonstrations, and evaluations of operating programs of occupational adjustment.

Many individuals have contributed much in the way of counsel and active support to the accomplishments of the N.O.C. General Robert I. Rees, Mr. Cartwright, and Franklin J. Keller were closely identified with the founding of the Conference, Dr. Keller being the

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first director and serving until July, 1936. The valued advice of Walter A. Jessup, President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and the understanding support of Frederick P. Keppel, then President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, were available to the Conference at all times. The vigor and resourcefulness of J. Walter Dietz and his previous experience as a member of the Executive Committee made him a most worthy successor to General Rees as Chairman. Most helpful also was the generous assistance of the N.O.C. Technical Committee under the chairmanship of Donald G. Paterson, Professor of Psychology at the University of Minnesota. To these should be added the names of Anna L. Burdick, Harold F. Clark, Harvey N. Davis, James E. Russell, Thomas G. Spates, Alexander J. Stoddard, and Ben D. Wood, all members of the Executive Committee. They have served without stint, and their wise counsel has kept the Conference on a steady keel throughout the six years.

The report that follows will aim to present concisely the record for each of the main lines of activity which the N.O.C. has carried on.

Publications. Almost immediately upon formation the Executive Committee faced the problem of publications. The question of a periodical was quickly answered by conversations between Dr. Keller and officers of the National Vocational Guidance Association which led to an agreement whereby the two groups became co-operating publishers of the magazine.

The Magazine. When the N.O.C. was organized the Trustees of the National Vocational Guidance Association accepted a mutual benefit proposal that the Conference become co-publisher, with the addition of the word *Occupations* to the then existing name, *The Vocational Guidance Magazine*. The 48-page periodical, with a paid circulation of fewer than 2,000 was increased in size and in the scope of its offering. In three years the number of readers had grown by 50 per cent to nearly 3,000, and in the succeeding three years the 1936 figure was increased by more than 100 per cent to approximately 6,500 paid subscriptions. This expansion is credited to an increased interest throughout the nation in vocational guidance and related activities in the general field of occupational adjustment, especially in placement and follow-up for out-of-school youth. It should be noted also that during the last three years there had been in effect an editorial policy that called for presentation of magazine articles and departments as completely *practical* in their application

as it was possible to obtain. Typical among comments of readers was one that declared: "*Occupations* is far better than ever. In fact, it's getting to be a magazine that challenges comparison with any of them, for meat, for readability, for usefulness, and for downright interestingness!" Appeal to reader interest through useful and helpful information has been a primary objective, and its reception appears to warrant continuance of this policy.

The six volumes of the magazine beginning with the issue for June, 1933, contain a total of approximately six thousand pages. More than five hundred special articles have been contributed by nearly as many authors, including some of the most prominent individuals in the fields of education, commerce, industry, and labor. The great diversity of subjects covered and the caliber of authors may be observed in the subject and author indexes of the six volumes, XII to XVII inclusive, which appear on pages 837 to 860 of the June, 1939, issue. Three supplements were issued: *New Frontiers in Guidance* (March, 1934); *Breathitt County in the Southern Appalachians: Vocational Guidance in a Social Setting* (June, 1936); and *Vocational Guidance in Rockland County* (May, 1936).

Special numbers were published on the following topics: *Occupational Distribution and Trends* (February, 1934); *Analysis of the Individual* (April, 1934); *Mental Hygiene and Guidance* (November, 1934); *Vocational Guidance and Education for Negroes* (March, 1936); *Criteria of Vocational Success* (June, 1936); *The Social and Vocational Rehabilitation of the Tuberculous* (April, 1937); *Youth and Labor* (March, 1939); and *Jobs of Tomorrow* (May, 1939). There have also been annual numbers reporting conventions of the American Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations.

Scores of articles from the magazine have been reprinted in full or in abstract form in other periodicals, attesting to the value of the material presented. Wherever occupational adjustment problems are discussed it is rare indeed that *Occupations* is not mentioned; it has come to be recognized as a highly valuable handbook and reference work in vocational counseling, in placement, and in problems of young people. It is particularly worthy of note that no other monthly magazine in the country contributed as many references to *American Youth: An Annotated Bibliography*, published last year by the American Youth Commission.

Early in 1938, when it became evident that the work of the N.O.C. was nearing completion, the National Vocational Guidance

Association appointed a Committee on Future Policy and assigned to it the task of preparing the way for the Association to resume full responsibility for publication of the magazine. A plan was presented at the 1939 Convention in Cleveland which included authority for the Committee to negotiate with the Carnegie Corporation for a final grant to facilitate this transfer. This request was approved subsequently at the April meeting of the Carnegie Corporation. With the funds thus made available the Association hopes to make the magazine self-supporting.

The final grant from the Corporation enabled the new Editorial Board to retain the same general format of the magazine. By decision of the N.V.G.A. Trustees and Delegate Assembly the number of issues per year was set at eight instead of nine, October through May. A slightly smaller size of type permitted inclusion in eighty pages of as much or more material as had previously appeared in ninety-six pages. A lighter weight paper and a less expensive style of binding gave the appearance and "feel" of less bulk but provided greater ease in reading and handling. The cover design was changed also. The magazine office equipment of the N.O.C. was moved on July 1, 1939, to the Association's new headquarters in ample space provided by Teachers College, Columbia University. Harry D. Kitson continued as editor. Following publication of the October, 1939, issue on September 15, Donald M. Cresswell resigned as managing editor and was succeeded by Ralph B. Kenney, formerly a counselor in the Albany High School, Albany, New York, who served also as executive secretary of the N.V.G.A., succeeding Fred C. Smith.

In the six years that the N.O.C. has been co-publisher of *Occupations*, *The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, funds allocated from N.O.C. maintenance plus special grants from the Corporation have totaled more than \$100,000 for the magazine. The N.O.C. retired on June 30 from participation in its publication, confident in the belief that *Occupations* would continue to expand in usefulness and value to all who are interested in the advancement of occupational adjustment.

Occupational Index. Prior to the N.O.C. there was no bibliography of current literature describing occupations. To meet this need the *Occupational Index* was established in January, 1936. It now covers regularly all new books, all United States Government publications, a large number of technical and general magazines, and the pamphlet publication of several hundred organizations. During

its first three years 2,562 new references were listed, annotated, and indexed by subject, title, and author.

The *Occupational Index* has been incorporated and has received a terminal grant from the Carnegie Corporation which is expected to place it upon a self-supporting basis within a few years. The office and workroom of *Occupational Index* were moved to New York University on May 1, 1939. Robert Hoppock is the editor.

Occupational abstracts. To make occupational information still more accessible, the N.O.C. in 1935 initiated a series of appraisals and abstracts of available literature—published in pamphlet form—each pamphlet covering a single occupation. More than sixty titles have been completed and approximately forty-one thousand copies of these have been distributed. Occupational Index, Inc., has accepted responsibility for continuing this program as long as available funds permit, and for exploring the possibility of continuing on a self-sustaining basis. Editing and publication activities were transferred to offices at New York University on May 1, 1939.

Books and reports. The first book to be published for the National Occupational Conference was *Job Satisfaction* by Robert Hoppock. It is the standard, almost the only authoritative volume dealing with this most important aspect of occupational adjustment.

Several bibliographies of material describing occupations were available when the N.O.C. was organized but none was both complete and up to date. The senior author of one of these publications was engaged to prepare a complete bibliography covering, as far as possible, all material published from 1920 to 1935. The result was *Books About Jobs* by Willard E. Parker, published for the N.O.C. by the American Library Association in 1936. The book was received with enthusiasm by counselors everywhere, apparently because it met most effectively the need which had led the Executive Committee to authorize its preparation.

Aptitudes and Aptitude Testing by Walter V. Bingham was published for the National Occupational Conference by Harper's on February 19, 1937. Dr. Bingham wrote this book under a subvention from the Carnegie Corporation upon the request of the Executive Committee of the N.O.C. That the choice both of project and author was wise has been amply borne out by the reception of the book. The eager acceptance of the volume both as a text and as a reference indicates that the book will probably be the standard discussion in its field for some time to come.

In the spring of 1937 *Vocational Guidance Throughout the World*

appeared. This admirable comparative survey was the work of Franklin J. Keller and Morris S. Viteles. Each of the authors had visited most of the countries about which he wrote, and for those not visited excellent reference material had been made available. The result was a penetrating overview of guidance practices in all the important nations of the world. No comparable volume had existed hitherto, so that the National Occupational Conference in underwriting the preparation of the manuscript performed a service out of all proportion to the investment represented.

The interim report of the Occupational Education Tour for School Superintendents entitled *Occupational Adjustment* was a 1938 publication of the National Occupational Conference. In the words of the superintendent who wrote it, "The report is an effort to state the essential principles of occupational adjustment as they have developed out of a year's thinking and experimentation on the part of the Tour members, and to review some of their efforts and accomplishments during the same year. . . . Present plans contemplate another, perhaps several, interim reports, pointing toward a full and comprehensive statement when this seems justified by circumstances." The report has been widely circulated and has formed the basis for discussion at twelve Regional Conferences on Occupational Adjustment sponsored by the N.O.C. during 1938-39 in cities represented by the superintendents who participated in the tour.

In the preliminary steps toward organization of the National Occupational Conference, General Rees was one of the most active and interested of the small group of men who brought the body into being. It was he who was chosen Chairman of the Executive Committee, a position which he held until his sudden death on November 23, 1936. So highly did his associates in the N.O.C. hold his achievements that a special memorial booklet was prepared and published in 1938, *Robert Irwin Rees—An Appreciation*. A limited edition was provided for distribution among his many friends and associates.

One more N.O.C.-sponsored publication came from the press last May. This is a booklet reporting results of a special occupational adjustment study of the schools and community in Essex County, New Jersey. The study was made under the direction of Howard D. Campion, Assistant Superintendent of the Los Angeles, California, Public Schools. *The Vocational Schools of Essex County, New Jersey* is a significant contribution in that it presents an entirely

new type of study covering a county unit vocational school system located in a thickly populated industrial area.

Grants to various other individuals and organizations, made by the Carnegie Corporation on recommendation of the National Occupational Conference, resulted in the following publications in addition to a number of special articles published in *Occupations*:²

Guidance Bibliographies for 1935 and 1936, by the United States Office of Education (1937)

Life Earnings in Selected Occupations, by Harold F. Clark and others (1938)

Occupations in Retail Stores, by Dorothea de Schweinitz (1937)

Women Workers Through the Depression, edited by Lorine Pruette (1934)

PUBLICATIONS OF THE INSTITUTE OF WOMEN'S PROFESSIONAL RELATIONS

Directory of Colleges, Universities and Professional Schools Offering Training in Fields Related to Health (1936)

Directory of Colleges, Universities and Professional Schools Offering Training in Professions Other Than Those Concerned with Health and the Arts (1936)

Directory of Colleges, Universities and Professional Schools Offering Training in the Fields of Business and Industry (1937)

Dentistry—Its Professional Opportunities (1934)

Dentistry as a Profession (1934)

Special Librarianship as a Career (1933)

Business Opportunities for Home Economics Trained Women (1938)

PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES OFFICE OF EDUCATION

Minimum Essentials of the Individual Inventory in Guidance, by Giles M. Ruch and David Segel (Bulletin No. 202)

Guidance Programs for Rural High Schools, by Paul W. Chapman (Bulletin No. 203)

Occupational Information and Guidance; Organization and Administration, by Harry A. Jager, Layton S. Hawkins, and Giles M. Ruch (Bulletin No. 204)

Field service. In February, 1933, the National Occupational Conference took over the field service activities of the National Vocational Guidance Association. There were available at that time a

² Since Dr. Lee wrote the above another book supported by the N.O.C. has appeared, *Appraising Guidance in Secondary Schools*, by Grayson N. Kefauver and Harold C. Hand (1941). This present book received help from the same source.

number of mimeographed lists of references on methods of teaching occupations, follow-up studies, homeroom guidance, college personnel work, and the theory and practice of vocational guidance, which were sent out in response to requests for such information. As the inquiries increased in number certain types of requests became familiar through the frequency with which they appeared. As soon as it became evident that there was a continuing demand for a certain type of information, the N.O.C. undertook to have such information prepared in mimeographed or printed form. A number of articles in the magazine and a few of the research projects resulted from this attempt to meet the needs of working counselors. In June, 1935, there were on the list of publications seventeen mimeographed bulletins and sixteen reprints; in June, 1939, there were four mimeographed forms, sixty-one occupational abstracts, and eighty-three reprints, several of the earlier mimeographed forms having been incorporated in articles for *Occupations* and later reprinted.

In the first three years of the N.O.C.'s existence there were 3,585 requests for help in solving counseling problems. In the three years ending February 1, 1939, the requests numbered 13,022, or a total of 16,607 since 1933. These came chiefly from librarians, high school principals and counselors, college deans and placement officers, and students. In smaller numbers requests have come from superintendents of schools, state directors of education, government agencies (mainly the N.Y.A., the C.C.C., and the W.P.A.), personnel officers of business organizations, Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s, ministers, and hospital and prison authorities. The writers represented practically every section of the United States. Inquiries also have come from Cuba, Canada, the Philippine Islands, South America, Australia, and China.

Of the total number of requests approximately 11,000 were orders for printed material ranging from one publication to 1,000 in a single order. In round figures 41,000 occupational abstracts and 35,000 reprints of articles that have appeared in *Occupations* have been distributed. The main sources from which these orders have emanated are: individuals, 2,300; high schools, 1,700; libraries, 1,600; colleges, 800; local boards of education, 750; and government agencies, 300.

The handling of orders for printed material, although time-consuming, is of less importance than the answering of letters from those who seek specific information or help. The greatest number of these have come from the following groups:

Individuals: 800 inquiries regarding opportunities and training in more than 100 different occupations.

High school principals and vocational counselors: 600 requests for information on such topics as lists of occupational books, cumulative record systems, organization and development of guidance program, opportunities and training requirements in specific occupations, schools for the handicapped.

College counselors, teachers, and placement officers: 400 inquiries including information on tests, employment statistics, college vocational guidance program, personnel work for college women.

Local boards of education: 400 requests including most frequently inquiries regarding starting a county guidance program, forms and methods used in county and city occupation surveys.

Other groups, including parent-teacher associations, civic organizations, prison authorities, personnel directors of business organizations, National Youth Administration directors, education directors of the C.C.C., and state departments of education, have sent numerous requests for information on such topics as occupational and vocational guidance books for group discussion, use of personnel rating scales, vocational rehabilitation of handicapped persons, tests used for employee promotion, employee record cards, industrial counseling service, co-operation of civic groups with high schools in advising youth.

In November, 1937, Mary P. Corre of the Vocation Bureau of the Cincinnati Public Schools came to the N.O.C. under a fellowship grant and assisted materially in bringing the field service to the attention of a greater number of counselors, librarians, and government agencies than hitherto had been aware of the service and the wealth of material available through the N.O.C. library and files.

Another important part of the field service work has been the consultation in the office by members of the staff with persons from all over the world. In the past six years these have numbered more than a thousand and have included visitors from British Columbia, New Zealand, Australia, China, Japan, South Africa, and Belgium. The staff members have traveled extensively to give advice in various communities on vocational guidance problems. Since the beginning of the N.O.C. they have met with 369 professional groups, have attended 178 meetings, and have given 295 addresses. Their articles, published in various magazines including *School and Society*, *Nation's Business*, *Education Digest*, *Vital Speeches*, *Child Study*, *Business Education World*, *National Education Association*

Journal, *Phi Delta Kappa*, *Journal of Adult Education*, *American Vocational Association Journal*, and *Opportunity*, have numbered 68 in addition to those published in *Occupations*. There have been scores of invitations for service, articles, and addresses which could not be accepted.

United States Office of Education. Early in 1938 conversations were begun which led to the organization on August 1, 1939, of a new Occupational Information and Guidance Service in the United States Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

The scope and duties of the Occupational Information and Guidance Service have been clearly described by John W. Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education, in the November, 1938, and April, 1939, numbers of *Occupations*. One of its functions is the approval of plans for the setting up of occupational information and guidance divisions in the various states. Up to June, 1939, such plans had been approved for six states—Maryland, Michigan, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Georgia, and Maine—and the first three of these states had appointed supervisors or directors of Occupational Information and Guidance. Preliminary steps for approval of plans had been taken (1939) by Massachusetts, Vermont, and North Dakota.

In the course of the organization of the Service, the following were retained as consultants for varying periods: Richard D. Allen, Walter V. Bingham, Paul W. Chapman, and Layton S. Hawkins. The new service has functioned efficiently under the able direction of Harry A. Jager as Chief. As of September 30 other members of the staff included Walter J. Greenleaf, Specialist, Occupational Information and Guidance; Royce E. Brewster, Specialist, Consultation and Field Service; Marguerite W. Zapoleon, Specialist in Occupations for Girls and Women; Eugenie A. Leonard, Consultant; Pedro T. Orata and Waldo B. Cookingham, Specialists.

In planning the work of the Occupational Information and Guidance Service it was agreed that eventually all field service and mail inquiries received by the N.O.C. should be forwarded to the Washington office. Transfer of these activities was completed on February 1, 1939. During the thirteen months following organization of the new Service members of the staff have made thirty-four field trips to forty-two cities, colleges, and universities in nineteen states and have delivered thirty-seven addresses to local, state, and national groups. To meet demands made upon the Service, thirteen leaflets,

lists, and bulletins aggregating 260 pages have been printed or mimeographed. Total distribution of the printed bulletins alone is estimated at 55,000 copies. Between August 1, 1938, and August 30, 1939, an average of one thousand requests for information and assistance had been received and answered each month. Reference already has been made to three major publications which the Service planned to have ready for distribution.

The Occupational Tour. One of the most significant activities of the N.O.C. was the Occupational Education Tour for School Superintendents. The possibility of the tour had been discussed early in the autumn of 1936 with Alexander J. Stoddard, chairman of the Educational Policies Commission of the American Association of School Administrators. Dr. Stoddard's enthusiasm for the idea encouraged the director to present the matter to the Executive Committee of the N.O.C., who in turn recommended to the Carnegie Corporation that a special grant be made to carry out the project.

Ensued then a period of planning which involved the invitation and release from duty for two weeks of a representative group of superintendents; securing the co-operation of the administrative officers of the schools and cities to be visited; working out the actual details of the tour; arranging for network broadcasts from certain cities during the tour, and other publicity features.

On Sunday afternoon, May 2, 1937, the group of thirteen superintendents met in Chicago with N.O.C. staff members for preliminary organization and preparation for the days to follow. Early in the evening the men boarded the private observation-Pullman car that was to be their domicile for the next ten days, and an experience unique to all members of the group began.

The immediate result of the tour was the tentative report of the findings reached by the superintendents after the final two-day conference at Princeton Inn. A digest of this report and the story of the tour was published in *Occupations* for June, 1937.

Throughout the year 1937-38 articles appeared in *Occupations* describing occupational adjustment program experiments in each of the cities represented. The year culminated in a conference of the group held at Asheville, North Carolina, in May, 1938, resulting in the N.O.C. bulletin *Occupational Adjustment*. At the Asheville meeting each of the superintendents agreed to sponsor a conference in his own region the purpose of which would be to extend the influence of the report. The story of these regional conferences ap-

peared in the June, 1939, issue of *Occupations* under the title "Occupational Adjustment from Coast to Coast."

What the final result of this experiment will be cannot be written at this time. The Carnegie Corporation has provided a generous terminal grant to Teachers College, Columbia University, which will facilitate the concluding activities under the guidance of the retiring director of the N.O.C. It was planned to have the original group of superintendents meet later for a further pooling of experiences and ideas. Ultimately a final report will be written which should take its place with other significant documents in American education.

National occupational conferences. Five regional conferences sponsored by the N.O.C., 1933 to 1935, brought together five hundred economists, psychologists, and personnel workers from secondary schools, colleges, and industry. The first was held in August, 1933, at Camp Stevens, Johnsonburg, New Jersey; the second in January, 1934, at International House, Berkeley, California; the third in April, 1934, at Chapel Hill, North Carolina; and the final one in August, 1935, at Estes Park, Colorado. A similar conference on guidance for Negroes was held at Atlanta University, Atlanta, in December, 1935.

In each of these conferences major issues in occupational adjustment were discussed from all angles. A typical day's program opened with a general session from 8 to 10 A.M. in which some current problem was briefly outlined in a ten-minute statement by some authority, extemporaneously and conversationally discussed for an hour by a panel of five or six persons representing conflicting points of view, and then opened for general discussion from the floor. From 10 A.M. until noon the conference divided into small groups for more intensive discussion of subtopics of particular interest to members of the smaller groups. Afternoons were left free for rest, recreation, and individual conferences. In the evening another general session on a different topic followed the general plan of the first morning session.

The results were invaluable to the N.O.C. in formulating its activities, and those who attended expressed their appreciation of this unusual opportunity to become well acquainted and to exchange experiences with leaders in related fields whom they seldom met at other conferences.

Other activities. The activities described above account for only twenty of the eighty-eight support grants made by Carnegie Corporation of New York for projects recommended by the National

Occupational Conference. Even to describe all the others³ would be impossible in this brief report, but they include a number of activities that promise to become of steadily increasing significance. Three examples will serve to illustrate.

At the request of several professional organizations, staff services and funds were made available to facilitate the organization in 1934 of the American Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations, which has held six annual conventions and has made significant progress in the direction of more co-ordinated effort and less unnecessary duplication.

Dissemination of occupational and vocational guidance information by means of radio broadcasting, which today is so widespread, was inaugurated on a high plane through sponsorship by the National Vocational Guidance Association by means of annual grants from the Carnegie Corporation through the N.O.C., beginning in 1934-35 and continuing through 1936-37. Approved scripts were supplied through the Association's Radio Committee for weekly dramatized broadcasts over the Columbia Broadcasting System's School of the Air. The success of this service is reflected in the rapidly growing popularity and increase in the number of occupational information broadcasts through local and network channels. The ultimate value of this pioneering by radio in occupational adjustment service to youth and adults cannot be estimated.

Notable developments in occupational broadcasts have included the weekly "Americans at Work" series launched about a year ago as a chain feature of the Columbia Broadcasting System, and "On Your Job" started in June, 1938, as a weekly National Broadcasting Company network program. The latter is conducted with the co-operation of *Occupations* and the National Vocational Guidance Association. Staff members of the N.O.C. assisted in shaping the techniques developed for the series. The Mutual Broadcasting System started a weekly "Success Session" in June, presenting interviews with individuals who have attained success in various types of occupations.

Through the co-operative efforts of the National Research Council and the National Occupational Conference, the United States Employment Service was enabled to begin an extensive research

³ See "The First Year—Annual Report of NOC," *Occupations*, June, 1934; "Two-thirds of an Experiment," *Occupations*, June, 1935; and "Accomplishments of NOC," *Occupations*, January, 1937—all by Franklin J. Keller, Director of N.O.C., 1933-36.

program which is now continuing on a permanent basis with public support. Through this there have been developed improved techniques for the selection of workers in certain fields, and much of the ground work has been laid for the ultimate determination of common characteristics in certain hypothetical families of occupations, which determination would facilitate greatly the transfer, re-training, and re-employment of those who become the victims of technological unemployment. One tangible result will be the publication shortly of *Occupational Counseling Techniques* by William H. Stead and his associates [later published], a volume setting forth the significant accomplishments thus far achieved.

The years ahead. Thus the National Occupational Conference comes to "the end of the trail" as a physical entity—but in the spirit and in the effectiveness of its achievements, we trust, it will continue indefinitely as an aid to all phases of occupational adjustment throughout the nation. Begun in the hope that its services would help in an emergency situation, and carried on from year to year as its activities bore fruit, the N.O.C. may well regard its efforts as worth while if only in the light of assured continuation of its major activities through established and responsible agencies.

Through carefully planned and supervised research, through investigation, conference, and compilation, a great wealth of occupational and vocational guidance information has been assembled. Through the spoken and the printed word there has been widespread dissemination of this information that has benefited and will continue to benefit youth and adults for years to come.

Definitely projected school and community programs of occupational adjustment are still in their infancy; the years ahead undoubtedly will witness expansions beyond our greatest expectations. If, eventually, there be only small recognition of the efforts of the National Occupational Conference in the achievement of such developments, the sponsors and the members of the N.O.C. will be entirely satisfied.⁴

⁴ Those who have served as staff members of the National Occupational Conference since its inception have returned to former duties or have entered new or allied fields. Franklin J. Keller, director of N.O.C. from 1933 to 1936 returned to the principalship of the Metropolitan Vocational High School, New York City; Edwin A. Lee, director since July, 1936, became Professor of Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, in the fall of 1938, continued with N.O.C. on a part-time basis till 1939, and in 1940 became Dean of the School of Education at the University of California at Los Angeles; Robert Hoppock, assistant director, is now Professor of Education and Chairman of the Department of Personnel Administration in the School of Education at New York University; Wilbur I.

Gooch, field representative, resigned in the fall of 1937 to become Associate Professor of Education at Boston University; Raymond G. Fuller, former managing editor, conducted projects for the American Youth Commission and recently has been a free-lance writer; Rowena S. Hadsell, office manager, was executive secretary for a study known as "The Negro in America," conducted under the auspices of the Carnegie Corporation. Donald M. Cresswell, managing editor in later years, returned to his former work in publicity for the Pennsylvania State Department of Public Instruction and later became managing editor of the *American Vocational Association Journal*. Fred C. Smith, former editor, is Dean of the University of Tennessee; and Harry D. Kitson, editor, is Professor of Education at Teachers College, Columbia University.

Issues Outstanding and the Outlook

WE NOW turn, after tracing the history of a third of a century of vocational guidance, to a summarizing and concluding chapter dealing with some unresolved issues as of 1942. These we shall classify under the following heads: philosophy, scope, tools, methods, institutions, organization and administration, terminology, evaluation.

1. Issues relating to the philosophy of vocational guidance.

Unlike many other movements relating to occupational life, vocational guidance early received a social inclination. Neither Samuel Smiles nor Adam Smith grounded its philosophy. Seldom have even the hangers-on in the movement stated the raw doctrine of helping youth in *getting ahead* as the aim of guidance. Recognition of mutuality has been common if not universal in the literature.

In truth, a social aim for vocational guidance above even the mutuality pattern is inherent in the thought that the guided should become active agents in the improvement of all occupational life: here was developed a real issue. Is there a distinct aim for the vocational guidance movement, beyond helping individuals to succeed in an ethically integrated occupational career? Must future dentists and accountants be guided too into right attitudes and actions in respect to conditions-favorable-to-success for the farm laborer, the clerk, and the machine tender? Are we satisfied with a situation in which the workers in certain professions earn in one year an amount requiring of common laborers a decade of work?

Indeed, it is maintained, the work of vocational guidance is less than half done if the guided are prepared only for individual success, even if they know clearly that this success must be founded on mutuality, with a bit more give than take. No, say others; counselors are busy enough without teaching such generalities—the civics teachers can handle such topics. But will the civics teachers or any others deal with such matters as union membership, occupational ethics, employer-employee relationships, organization of enterprises, owner responsibilities, problems of capitalism, government regulation, co-operative associations, problems of farmers? (Since 1915 the writer has measured the national party platforms, to find that always the vocational problems occupy more than 50 per cent of the space.) Civics teachers, however, are busy enough with their

present work, and not even courses in economics put the worker in the spotlight—processes and principles predominate.

Unless a greatly increased block of curriculum time be devoted to the classes in occupational information such teaching will be impossible. True we teach geography for such general values, and not to help pupils plan trips. But in the meager time available for guidance we have time only to show the world of work to pupils, its problem requirements and possibilities, and to guide them in planning their own careers. Besides, where will teachers be found who can handle the highly controversial subjects suggested? Perhaps we must trust something to general good will on the part of our pupils.

Still, it may be urged, the meaning of the words *vocational* and *guidance* would seem to justify the broader, social aim for the work. Time will tell.

Another large issue is involved in the attitude of workers in vocational guidance on the subject of capitalism as a system of vocational life. Let us define capitalism as a system in which, with few exceptions, nine-tenths of the workers seek permission to work from the other one-tenth, the latter group being the enterprisers who organize businesses of their own and take the attendant risks.¹

Attempted amendments to capitalism are many, and alternative proposals legion, but the fact seems established that its wholesale and sudden abolition would be likely to take democracy with it. The consumer co-operative movement is perhaps most promising as a partial substitute, but this would not abolish capitalism any more than would government operation of certain functions and enterprises. Boards set apart from active political control, and nonprofit, like the New York Port Authority and the British Broadcasting Corporation, may in time become common, but this plan and the co-operative scheme require a high order of ability unlikely to be developed without the incentive to individual initiative that capitalism calls forth, and require much unselfish devotion, for which we seem morally unready.

The issue comes to this: shall the schools and colleges actively encourage the alternative proposals? On the one hand it is urged that the manifest disadvantages of capitalism require continual and candid criticism of the whole system; on the other, that the criticism of capitalism encourages crackbrained schemes and too-easy solu-

¹ Dr. Hoppock points out that this definition ignores the large number of the self-employed and the fact that adequate guidance might greatly increase their number.

tions which may ere long "kill the goose" and lose the best of our present vocational life. Among workers in vocational guidance it must be admitted that the conservatives dominate: the present system with all its faults is loyally adhered to by most counselors. Even when this system does not furnish jobs the counselors counsel patience rather than parades. Do they even teach what the alternatives are? Frank D. Graham's *The Abolition of Poverty*, a 1932 plea for the government to take over the factories and put the unemployed workers to work on producing goods for their own needs, received no support from the vocational guidance people. Even "taking 'up the slack'" of capitalism, as proposed by Franklin K. Lane and endorsed by all the candidates for president from Wilson down, found little active support among educators. Very evidently, in the future of capitalism here and abroad, we have a lively issue which vocational guidance has hardly explored. Yet it mightily concerns the careers of the guided.

Another issue set deeply in its philosophy is the relation of vocational guidance to liberal education and to vocational preparation. Shall vocational guidance counsel the individual to continue his liberal studies as long as possible, or shall it turn his thoughts reasonably early toward preparation for his work? Or shall adherents of guidance support only a remade form of liberal education which will *apply* all studies, not to work alone, but also to present problems in home life, group life, recreation, health, religion, ethics, citizenship? Shall such broad studies be endorsed, and prolonged, with intensive preparation for the techniques of a job delayed as long as possible?

On the college level vocational guidance functions apparently with little relation to the student's curriculum; more often on the secondary level at least a few studies are used for guidance purposes. These issues are important but as yet unresolved.

Likewise important but unresolved is the issue concerning self-guidance as the aim of our work. When the army personnel work began, a decade after Parsons, there was little thought of self-guidance; necessity and the war atmosphere militated against it. In truth, the army "personnel work"—well named—under the Committee for Classification of Personnel, was vocational *selection* rather than vocational guidance. Visualize on the one hand the employer or employment manager trying to fill a specific job: with the job in mind he interviews many individuals until he finds one to fit. On the other hand, visualize the counselor faced with an individual who wishes to select one among many vocations. The former procedure begins

and ends with the job; the individuals are the means. The other begins and ends with the individual; the various available occupations are the means.

Now it seems obvious that there will be little if any opportunity for self-guidance in the first situation, whereas there is much in the second. But here the issue arises, shall the vocational guidance movement adhere to an ideal of self-guidance for the coming generation—self-decision based on self-enlightenment—or shall we more often depend on highly technical knowledge in the mind of the expert, leading to rather definite advice, with little effort to enlighten the “counselee”? Or can both advice and self-enlightenment be achieved?

Advice is faster, more definite, less confusing, and perhaps more successful, just as to many persons seems expert dogmatism in other fields—citizenship, health, the home, religion—where not? But the issue is clear enough: shall the field of vocational effort, occupying as it does the largest share of our waking time, be withdrawn from the beneficence of democratic self-determination? Would it be safe to hand out solutions to the oncoming generation, in such an important matter as his lifetime of work, even were we sure of our answers?

Analogies are often urged, especially those to the physician and the lawyer; the latter is called “counselor at law.” One book has paralleled the problems and functions of the counselor with those of the doctor, from blood-pressure to X-rays! “Diagnosis” is used by some authors; perhaps we may soon expect the frank use of the term “prescription.” Yet the physician’s diagnosis is seldom comprehensive, his problem normally being restricted to but one trouble, and his treatment has to do with a temporary, pathological problem. Moreover the younger doctors oppose the “bedside manner,” favoring something like educational methods. And even the legal counselor, though his task is very different from that of the vocational counselor, often if not usually presents alternatives and leaves decision to the client.

Is vocational guidance a matter of diagnosis and expert technical diagnosis and take-it-or-leave-it suggestion, or is it essentially an educational function? This is the real issue here. In subtle ways the answers are being given every day in every conference between counselor and counseled. The total answer is going to be of vital importance for the future of this country and the world. Many persons besides the dictators believe that vocational life is too complicated and personal qualities too hidden to be taught to the young.

Shall we then throw overboard the dictum, "Know thyself," and shall the opening of the boy's world "oyster" be given over to the expert opener?²

2. Issues related to the scope and subject matter of vocational guidance. Since guidance is not the exact duplicate of personnel work, its effort may be restricted to the area having to do with the giving of enlightenment and experiences leading to self-direction. Then perhaps another movement named "vocational direction" or "adjustment" should function if, when, and as diagnosis and prescription are to take place. Hiring and the assignment of work in a factory and personnel control in the army might appropriately be called by that name. But if the scope of vocational guidance is to be so broad as to comprise such assignment and control as well the word "guidance" does not fit.³

Within our restricted area the work is vast enough. Parsons' suggested factors (see above) were later arranged seriatim in "six steps." Issue has repeatedly been joined as to whether all these rightly come within our scope. Does the act of placement, for example, constitute a function of guidance? Again, is the individual's vocational preparation an item of his guidance? The very common use of the word *training*, for vocational education, would seem to indicate the absence of the guidance ideology.

² It is interesting to compare Parsons' statement of steps in vocational guidance with recent pronouncements by psychologists and others. The comprehensive statements of Parsons are given on page 61. These statements, be it noted, use terms describing the study, thinking, and activities of the *student himself*. But our present writers, perhaps suffering from a bit of self-consciousness, speak in terms of the actions of the counselor, psychometrist, or psychologist. Thus the first step stated is to "make an inventory of the individual." (This sounds a bit like bankruptcy, for a solvent merchant makes his own inventory, though he may employ an accountant to aid him.) The second is to "collect occupational information," the third to "use techniques to bring together these two sets of facts," the fourth to "program students for vocational education," the fifth to "find jobs for them," and the sixth to "follow them up and readjust them."

Here is a genuine issue. Is the student a passive agent, to be worked upon? Are profiles, appraisals, diagnoses, cumulative records, and the study of individuals to lead to expert knowledge in the minds of experts, or are they to result in self-knowledge for the student? (In this connection see two 1939 government pamphlets: *Minimum Essentials of the Individual Inventory in Guidance*, which says nothing about teaching the student the results of his own inventory, and almost nothing on how he is to "stock up" so that he will have anything to be inventoried; *Occupational Information and Guidance; Organization and Administration*, pp. 27, 28, which interprets Parsons erroneously—compare Parsons' *Choosing a Vocation*, pp. 5, 7, 45, and elsewhere.)

³ The writer has suggested criteria for true guidance in *Education as Guidance*, p. 22.

Sometimes such issues have been resolved with the remark that there is guidance *attending* placement and preparation. The act of placement, it is said, may be surrounded by a kind of instruction and counsel that will help the person to "understand what it is all about" and thus to achieve a greater measure of initiative, which may enable him better to seek a job on his own account should this become necessary. Similarly guidance designed to accompany vocational preparation may help to develop social viewpoints about the vocation—items of wisdom important for success. Figures on causes of discharge in factories indicate that lack of skill and of technical knowledge are far less often issues in holding a job and achieving promotion than are lack of habits of wise behavior.⁴ All such attending elements of true guidance can be furnished by the counselors.

Does testing come within the scope of vocational guidance? On the one hand "testing is here to stay" in any comprehensive plan of guidance; of that there can be no doubt. On the other hand the act of using a test, questionnaire, or blank does not of itself necessarily contribute to the education of the person filling it out. Therefore it may be argued that a separate agency—a school psychologist or psychometrist—should attend to testing, furnishing the results (raw scores and comparative statistics) to the vocational counselor. Some students of guidance are strongly for the combination of these duties, stating that only the trained psychologist is competent to make the necessary interpretations of the data revealed by the test results.

Counselors, however, are concerned with many questions to which testing does not apply; moreover, so many counselors are needed⁵ that statistical training of them all would be impossible.

If as seems likely there is to be a division of labor between testing and counseling, the issue will then remain: what relationship will subsist between the two groups? Will the psychologist and statistician serve the counselor, or will they control and direct his work? Or, will the two groups work together as independent experts, both under the general supervision of principals of schools and deans and presidents of colleges?

⁴ See Brewer in *The Personnel Journal*, Oct. 1927; in *The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, Jan. 1929; in *Religious Education*, Jan. 1930. Also the findings of H. Chandler Hunt (unpublished thesis, Boston University, 1932) in *The Personnel Journal*, Dec. 1935.

⁵ The National Vocational Guidance Association has declared for a counselor for every 500 pupils, or one for every 250 if the counselor has a half-time program of teaching classes in occupations.

Experience and analogy would seem to indicate the propriety of a rather definite division of labor. Toolmakers are more expert than tool users, yet they serve the mechanics and do not do their work for them. Psychologists and statisticians will do well to perfect the tools and try these tools out in expert fashion, but they can hardly prescribe how and when these tools will be used, nor can they both make and use the tools as a steady professional task.

Is the scope of vocational guidance broad enough to include work in the curriculum of school and college studies? Shall exploratory exercises in the clerical and industrial areas be included as guidance? Shall classes in occupational information be included? Practically, as indicated earlier, the former are usually given by teachers from the commercial and industrial departments, and the latter by vocational counselors. Joint supervision may suffice for the exploratory courses, to make sure that all aims are given consideration; perhaps the issue of scope need not be raised. In any case both exploratory and informational classes are needed for vocational guidance; on that there is no issue at this date. Both too are highly educational.

Does guidance for the educational career become part of vocational guidance? The two areas greatly overlap; for example, guidance in choice of studies frequently has implications for the vocational career. Educational guidance is a ghostly thing unless it leads into guidance for the more lasting activities of life, of which the vocational is one. Yet the question remains, should the two be amalgamated?

Perhaps the issue is more clearly seen if we ask whether or not all guidance should be one. When vocational guidance began to suggest work in other areas (or when other kinds of guidance were started) there were not lacking educators to point out that the unity of the individual demanded unity of guidance. Hence, said they, the same guide should guide on all problems. They failed to see, runs the opposing argument, that by the same principle of unity one's lawyer and physician would have to be one and the same person. Moreover, it may be urged, the unity must be achieved by the person himself, not by his servants, mentors, or guides.

This issue has been transferred very interestingly to textbooks. With the spread of guidance, books began to appear which proposed to guide the child to complete living—home relations, vocation, health, recreation, and all the rest. A single course was to guide for life, though what the rest of the "standard curriculum" was supposed to accomplish (besides admit to college) was not stated. At any rate

this is at present a lively issue, quite unresolved. We shall meet it again under the topic administration.

Another interesting issue has been raised by George E. Myers and others, and concerns both scope and terminology. Professor Myers maintains that guidance must relate only to decision-making; that only when there are two or more alternatives before the individual—all good courses of action but the choice among them depending upon individual differences—can there be guidance. Ethical conduct, citizenship, health, religion, home life, he holds, requiring only straight going without choice among alternatives, require instruction but not guidance.

The point need not be labored, nor perhaps is it of primary importance. But are there not matters of morale, choice of right over wrong, and matters of timing which require the help of a guide? Is instruction at its best adequate? Will instruction alone function in such problems? Does not the guide on a dangerous mountain trip, with no safe alternative path, give "guidance"?

The scope of vocational guidance is not confined, of course, to school and college students. Adults of all ages are served in various ways, in respect to problems of promotion, retraining, job getting, and other matters of readjustment. No issue is here involved.

3. **Issues relating to tools.** Parsons began with counseling but in his book he suggested many other tools, particularly records, questionnaires, and vocational information. Later, standardized tests, interest inventories, exploratory and tryout experiences, and classes for vocational information have been developed and are now well established. Most of these present no special issue at the present writing. For the last named the homeroom has been tried but found to be a dull tool; likewise the once-a-week class. Combination with classes in civics is common, but both are important enough for separate emphasis.

During almost the whole period of organized effort in vocational guidance, however, the problem of tests and other measures of individual characteristics—their use and limitations—has been the subject of controversy. At first many early workers in guidance distrusted them. The present writer, perhaps needlessly concerned over the extravagant claims of Hugo Münsterberg, over the claim that a test of intelligence would suffice as a measure of ability in stenography, over the apparently proscriptive determiners based on a supposedly constant I.Q., and over the charlatans who decided vocational futures for a fee, tilted in needless battle where right was

bound to win anyway. At any rate testing has won its way. Perhaps some test makers are too fond of their products, and criticism is still unorganized; at this writing there is greatly needed a professional association to issue trustworthy judgments on tests as they are issued; publishers and sales agents still seem to operate on the principle, "Let the buyer beware."

It must be remembered that the great bulk of research in vocational aptitudes and interests has been with adults or older youth, and that as yet little has been done with boys and girls, nor indeed with the common occupations into which they will go. This is another reason, perhaps, for dependence on actual tryout experience.

An observer of long experience in educational and social enterprises, Raymond G. Fuller, writes of what he calls overemphasis on the scientific method:

Some of the exponents of modern vocational guidance are so very scientific that they aren't scientific at all! There is such an emphasis on tests and measurements, individual and job analyses, and statistical correlations, that the counselee as a human being, with his motivations and his family and group situation, never gets to be understood at all. Counseling needs wisdom more than it needs methods and techniques.

Perhaps the real issue here is the gigantic one already noted: is vocational guidance essentially an educational matter, enlightening and informing the individual and assisting him in the conscious task of understanding his abilities, interests, and limitations, or is it a highly technical social service to be rendered to passive and somewhat uncomprehending persons? Another student of guidance puts it:

If our movement is ever to proceed in a direction away from such educational procedures as sampling experiences, classroom instruction and discussion, and educational and vocational counseling of a comprehensively informative nature, I for one wish to be understood as "viewing with alarm."

This issue is greatly complicated by the two kinds of counseling now going forward—that extended over long periods of time and that compressed into a few weeks. If and when young people have the benefit of many years of counsel, foundationed by exploratory experiences and prolonged classroom instruction and discussion, as is the case now in a score or so of communities, we should depend less on the method of making sudden "diagnoses" of comparative strangers, who may or may not have had the advantage of back-

ground experiences. In the N.Y.A., C.C.C., Y.M.C.A., and Y.W.C.A., in psychological bureaus, and especially in commercial agencies operating with fees, the youth heretofore neglected (and often he is near adulthood) submits himself only to two or three interviews. Naturally tests and diagnoses must be the main tools and procedures. In truth, however, there are at least five or six important decisions, all needing counsel and all to be spread over a period of years, to be made before choice of vocation is appropriate, and several other decisions to be made afterward.

Pamphlets and handbooks are still extensively used, with optimum results perhaps when used in connection with classes. Textbooks in occupations for classroom use are common now; sometimes the thought is voiced that students and teachers should gather much supplementary information, largely from local sources.

4. **Issues connected with methods.** Many issues are related to how the work of vocational guidance should be carried on. Should statistical data be set forth in correlation tables or in probability tables? Should record forms include "all possible facts" or only a moderate array, with space for additional data pertinent to each case? Should the counselor attempt most of the counseling himself, or should he enlist the aid of other teachers, social workers, psychologists, employers, and even students? Should each grade level have a new counselor experienced with that particular grade and its problems, or should each counselor follow along with a certain fixed group of counselees? Should the counselor devote some of his time regularly to teaching? Should the counselors each do "field work" in occupational research? Should counselors avoid having anything to do with discipline?

Should classes in occupational information give chief attention in class to specific callings or to the more general problems of vocational life? Should classes for credit meet three or five times per week, and at what grade level or levels should they be placed? Should such information be placed as a unit in the social studies course or program, or should it be an independent study?

Should exploratory (sampling, tryout) experiences be offered as a part of the regular curriculum of the youth? Do tryout samples for educational guidance—general mathematics, general science, general language—have genuine value as solid subject matter? Can they accomplish their purpose? Is the vestibule idea for entering students a good one?

In the field of preparation for gainful work, how should the voca-

tional guidance movement contribute? Through joint supervision? Through approving applications for training programs? Should counselors favor a narrow and intensive preparation on the "unit trade" plan, or should they stand for a more general preparation—the "horizontal curriculum"—emphasizing versatility and adaptability and the ability to enter upon elementary tasks in two or more related occupations?

What should be the methods of placement and follow-up? Should ordinary counselors participate in this work, or should it be assigned to specialists? Should placement be a routine service merely, or should it always be done with educational effect upon the placed?

What should be done with those who use questionable or false methods? Should we enlist the aid of Better Business Bureaus to curb them? Should school counselors warn pupils against them?

Perhaps the above inadequate list will sufficiently suggest some problems of method that are still to be settled; the reader himself will have to furnish the pro and con. The writer is inclined at present to answer the simple questions of this section in the affirmative, and to prefer the second of the alternatives indicated.

5. *Issues related to institutions.* Upon which institutions does the obligation for vocational guidance chiefly fall? There are writers who would offer a bit of educational guidance in the elementary and junior high schools, but omit the vocational. Others, on the theory that aptitudes should rest on long continued experience, would give industrial, clerical, homemaking, and gardening tasks from the kindergarten upwards, plus informal discussion of the workers who carry on such tasks in the day's work. It was first thought that the prime purpose of the junior high school was exploratory—a preview of life in all its important aspects. With the depression of the thirties, however, school attendance was lengthened, and the senior high school was nominated as the chief instrument of vocational guidance. Still others envision the time when junior-college opportunity will be standard for most of the population—an institution with a great variety of curriculums, liberal and vocational, and with a comprehensive plan of guidance just inside its front door. On such varied issues, important as they are, no decision can as yet be rendered. It seems certain that, if educational and vocational guidance ought to be spread out over a long and leisurely period, all the educational units must have an active part in it.

When we come to programs of vocational education or "training" (is the word ever justifiable?) another nest of unresolved issues

appears. Shall liberal (general) and vocational elements be given side by side in an overlapping program—the high school pupil taking English, music, drafting, shopwork, and shop science all at the same time? Training plans, say some critics, are “cluttered up” with nonvocational studies, printed in a curriculum labeled “bookkeeping” or “automobile mechanics” without even the use of different kinds of type. Would it be best to “finish up” the general studies before launching the vocational? For the professional institutions some “prevocational” studies are required of the lower schools; for example, mathematics for entrance to engineering college, and biology for medical school. But usually the actual “training” is intensive and separate.

Few if any vocational institutions have as yet faced adequately the problem of selection of students. There still flourish commercial departments in high schools which enroll over half the school population for a field of work service employing not more than 20 per cent of the world’s workers, and engineering colleges that fail to graduate even half the students they admit! When will obvious responsibility be accepted?⁶

Many persons are so thoroughly distrustful of the educational profession that they are inclined to say that “outside” agencies can do the work of guidance better—Young Men’s and Young Women’s Christian Associations, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the National Youth Administration, or even commercialized offices which guide for a fee. Social settlements, churches, parents’ organizations, “big brothers” and service clubs have been nominated. Whether or not Parsons was right that vocational guidance should be undertaken by the schools, the fact remains that a third of a century later only about 20 per cent of our young people have the benefit of such guidance.⁷ Youth out of school, therefore, must be given assistance. The depression brought a great increase of agencies designed to render this help, and many of them persist. Perhaps they will have a permanent function, at least until school systems effectuate adult education.

⁶ Efficiency of certain vocational curriculums was explored in 1921 by Roy C. Holl in a published Harvard thesis. He assumed that graduates should be a large fraction of those admitted, and that those entering the vocation should likewise be a major fraction of those graduating. Careful selection and rejection should accomplish this. Multiplying the two fractions together, the largest figure he could obtain was 14 per cent.

⁷ The Maryland survey *Youth Tell Their Story* (p. 74) found that 22.7 per cent of all youth indicated that they had had any guidance at all. For students the figure was 34.3 per cent; for nonstudents 19.9 per cent.

Is there a genuine place for commercial (money-making) counseling agencies? The answer ought probably to be in the negative. Why should a youth pay a penalty in the shape of a profit merely because he has grown up to need vocational guidance? Fees for the cost of tests and scoring are defensible. But education in the shape of guidance should be free, and there are too many temptations to abuse in the other plan.⁸

6. Questions concerning organization and administration. Such are the issues as yet unsettled; meanwhile, some of the best of schools and colleges fail to organize comprehensive plans; the variation in "setup" from school to school and college to college is such that it seems hard to believe there is any common aim. Indeed, among "personnel work" and "guiding" and "advising" the movement hesitates with a neutrality that opens the door to almost any kind of development. What future plans will be like is an open question indeed.

In Chapter 8 we have noted the various names by which city departments are called. In view of the growing movement for various other forms of guidance should the educational and vocational kinds be made into a unit for administrative purposes, and all other forms of guidance, such as health, manners, discipline, recreation, mental hygiene, home life, citizenship, etc., made into one or more separate units? A frequent plan in specific schools at present is to have departments of English, mathematics, and the other studies, and in this old-line environment to place a "department of guidance." But if this work be taken seriously, and if by chance the main purpose of education turns out to be the guidance of the young in all their activities, that plan becomes untenable. Why not then provide for logical division of labor at the outset rather than have it forced perhaps during a period of misunderstanding and rivalry?

Again, should the city department of vocational and educational guidance be independent and responsible directly to the superintendent of schools (or one of his supervisory assistants) or should it be a subdepartment under psychology, psychometrics, child welfare, vocational education, social studies, or "general guidance"? On the college level should it be combined with personnel work, which includes discipline, housing, student activities, health, athletics, social

⁸ As already hinted, the pay agency is almost forced to deliver a definite prescription, yet tests and interest blanks give no sure indications for more than groups or families of occupations. One testing and advising agency is nonprofessional enough to refuse to use any tools not devised by itself, and to discourage others in the use of its tools.

events, supervision of fraternities, and the rest? Is it one of many fields, or does it "stand out"?

A plan for vocational guidance does not need to be an organic whole, as that for vocational education must be; its parts can be developed somewhat independently of each other. Yet for effectiveness any plan needs unification. If combined with other departments will it have its needed opportunity? Psychologists are quite willing to take over the movement under the name of "student personnel work," and recent activity at Washington has led to the organization of guidance within state departments of vocational education. Would either of these adoptions benefit the work? Would either group foster the democratic ideal of self-guidance better than does the present National Vocational Guidance Association? Can the counselor, even when backed up by the valuable data furnished by psychologist and psychometrist, still refrain from forming a judgment on what the young person should do? And is he more likely so to refrain when he is independent of or dependent upon the psychologist? And, again, can he best counsel regarding vocational preparation when he is a member of a department of vocational education? Workers in this movement need to do much thinking on these problems. Fortunately, the present administration at Washington is favorable to a large measure of independence for guidance.

There are many other administrative issues. Can the principal of a school become a good counselor, or does his position interfere? Should counselors have taught, and should they continue teaching? What should their preparation be, and should it include occupational experience other than teaching? Should counselors receive the same salary as teachers? How should the counselor divide his time among instruction, counseling, placement, follow-up, and research? What should be his outside relationships? What attitude toward current labor problems should the counselor take? What toward the political and economic aspects of the counseling work?

A related administrative issue concerns the name and scope of the National Vocational Guidance Association. Stimulated by the development of plans for other forms of guidance, some of its members argue that the association should drop its "vocational limitation" and represent to the educational profession the whole scope and variety of guidance. These and other matters were discussed in the October and November, 1941, numbers of the association's magazine, and a committee of the association reported at the 1942 convention. The present writer finds but one answer to this issue: that

the association should continue its good but unfinished work; that the several kinds of guidance do not cohere, since the principle of the division of labor requires a different personnel for the large task of vocational and educational guidance, with its complex techniques, from that concerned with other forms of guidance;⁹ that vocational guidance would be so neglected under the proposed change that it could be adequately fostered only by the immediate organization of a new vocational guidance association; that the changed association would have aims as wide as all education, and the magazine would be in danger of falling apart with the varied interests expressed.

One may admit his greater interest in the whole of education than in any one part, and also his conviction that guidance for home membership, citizenship, ethics, and religion is more important than is vocational guidance. Enthusiasts, however, prompted perhaps by a sentimental humanitarianism (and by limitations and slowness in curriculum revision), wish to do everything at once. Cannot at least the movement for vocational guidance be a bit more modest? This is all the more important because the techniques in this field can teach something to workers in other forms of guidance, if each sticks to his last and does his job well.

Experience seems to teach that it is illogical and impossible to administer "guidance" in a department, and that the cities that use the unqualified word really mean educational and vocational guidance or else they are merely expressing a wishful exaggeration. Such a department, if well set up, would be administering all the educational work of the superintendent of schools. Probably the Providence effort is the most extensive, but it adds to educational and vocational guidance only a kind of guidance in human relationships, an understanding of which is greatly needed for vocational success, and as a department it makes no attempt to guide in leisure and recreation, home membership, student government and citizenship, health, or religion, wisely leaving these to other agencies.

Vocational guidance, including as it does curriculum work in practical arts and occupational information, testing and interpretation of tests, counseling, record making, study of vocational life, study of the individual, placement, and follow-up, plus all the pre-

⁹ It is sometimes urged that for each pupil there should be but one counselor, who would counsel on all kinds of problems. This theory seems to me to express a lack of humility so far as the counselor is concerned, and the denial of education to the pupil. Human life faces young and old with a multitude of influencers, from installment salesmen to Sunday-school teachers, and the child who must depend on but one is handicapped indeed.

liminary and attendant educational guidance, is sufficient employment for one set of "functionaries" and for one association.

Meanwhile the National Guidance Association has been established (March 25, 1941), with headquarters at Chicago and with the *N.G.A. News* as its organ. Its scope extends over "educational, vocational, recreational, social, health, and citizenship" fields. It will test out evidence as to the need for such an organization.

7. **Issues in terminology.**¹⁰ It would be unprofitable to give much space to the vocabulary of this movement; on the whole there is surprising agreement considering the newness of the field of service and its variety of function. The words personnel and advice we have already noted; apparently they should not be used as synonymous with guidance and counsel. "Advisement" is not the right word for advice. The scope of guidance we have explored above.

"Group guidance" was invented, apparently, as a term to mean classroom study, recitation, or discussion; is it any longer needed? "Group counseling" is a similar term, but might it not be best to confine the word counseling to work with individuals?

"Aptitude" seems to be a difficult word to use correctly; perhaps one's aptitude for any task is merely his present ability in that task when compared to the amount of opportunity he has so far had to learn it. Is there any possible measure or estimate of one's aptitude for something with which one has had no contact whatever, as beating out gold leaf or speaking Japanese?

Terms have a way of winning out and entering the dictionary regardless of logic, yet perhaps workers in guidance can help by trying to exercise more care.

8. **Questions relating to the evaluation of guidance.** Doubtless the hardest question of all is: What after all is the result of vocational guidance? Does anything happen? We do not propose to review the articles recently published on this topic;¹¹ the question

¹⁰ See also "Let's all speak the same language," *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, May 1934.

¹¹ See Harry D. Kitson and Margaret Crane, "Measuring Results of Vocational Guidance; A Summary of Attempts, 1932-37," *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, June 1938; Mildred E. Lincoln, *Teaching about Vocational Life* (1937); E. G. Williamson, "A Summary of Studies in the Evaluation of Guidance," Report of 15th Annual Meeting of the American College Personnel Association (1938); M. L. Allstetter, "Guidance Services in Two Hundred Secondary Schools," *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, Mar. 1938; E. G. Williamson and J. C. Darley, *Student Personnel Work* (1937), Chap. 9; F. M. Earle, and others, *Methods of Choosing a Career* (London, 1931); James A. McClintock, *Personnel Procedures in Secondary Schools; Report and Evaluation of Guidance Procedures in New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania* (The Psychological

remains, How *can* such a complex thing as guidance be measured? The writer tried some years ago to plan a piece of research to measure *success* in vocational life. Even the definition was elusive, and to discover and isolate its criteria more difficult still. Finally an expert statistician confirmed our doubts by the comment "too many variables." Writers have shown that pupils can gain in occupational information under instruction (Lincoln), and that hints of more sensible decisions seem to appear over a period of counseling. Others have shown that takers of advice seem to do better in college and work than those who do not. But the main question remains unanswered, Will a plan of exploratory opportunities, information, testing, counseling, and the rest result in a more harmonious vocational life for the next generation?

A study by Edward Landy and others, reported in the November 1940 number of the *Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals*, finds that students of occupational information show significantly better behavior in making their occupational adjustments than do those who have not taken this subject.

In 1935 there was organized the *Co-operative Study of Secondary School Standards*, with a schedule of items called "Evaluative Criteria." One chapter of this study concerned guidance. This attempt did not constitute a statistical study, but rather a check list for determining the presence or absence of specific provisions for guidance. "Educational Temperatures" gave a diagrammatic picture of the summarized results.

As to the measurement of exploratory courses, we have the significant fact that such work in industry, business, agriculture, and

Corporation, 1940); E. G. Williamson and E. S. Borden, "Evaluating Counseling by Means of a Control-group Experiment," *School and Society*, Nov. 2, 1940, and "The Evaluation of Vocational and Educational Counseling: A Critique of the Methodology of Experiments," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, Jan. 1941. Earle and Williamson report experiments in which advised individuals who followed advice were compared in adjustment with those unadvised or those who failed to follow advice. Kitson and Crane well state the difficulty of measuring the results of vocational guidance.

In the study by E. L. Thorndike and others, *Prediction of Vocational Success* (1934), no guidance was offered. Francis T. Spaulding's *High School and Life* (1938) for the New York State survey, is largely an appraisal of guidance services and an exposition of the need for more effective work.

Appraising Guidance in Secondary Schools, by Grayson N. Kefauver and Harold C. Hand (1941), gives significant if not very favorable data and contains additional references.

home economics, if well organized, will consist of actual tasks drawn from occupational life itself. Its "validity," therefore, is grounded on identity. Consequently it may be said that if any teaching has any effect whatever, if experience and knowledge can function in any field, such exploratory experiences are bound to function in occupational adjustment. No doubt before many years this will receive adequate statistical proof.

9. **The outlook.** The prospect seems significantly bright. Even the depression of the thirties did not slow down the growth of the movement. Two points seem definitely established: (1) Never again can schooling be conceived of as consisting only of classroom work; the need for some kind of individual attention and counseling cannot be denied and must and will be satisfied¹² (2) Some form of independent service must and will be organized to meet this need; neither superintendents, supervisors, "regular" teachers, nor principals can furnish it.

Not so well established are the exact forms the various services will assume. Exploratory courses both in school subjects and in vocational exercises are common, the "general shop" having within a quarter century largely supplanted manual training. Work in elementary business exercises is furnished with an extensive array of good textbooks and workbooks. Yet the school might in future develop workshops and commercial services actually selling goods and services to the public, or in a kinder occupational world the young might gain elementary experiences with employers.

Classes for occupational information are fortified with a number of varied and attractive textbooks, and it is hard to see how these classes could be abandoned in favor of the casual reading of pamphlets or supplanted by studies called more important. If textbooks on mathematics, geography, history, science, French, and the rest are placed alongside those on occupational information and each is judged as to relative importance by teachers whose eyes are upon the young and their problems, present and impending, the decision to include occupations can hardly be in doubt. Yet possibly the textbooks and the classroom work will move away from fact-learning about specific callings, which may be acquired out of pamphlets individually chosen. How to study an occupation, plus the more general

¹² In *Occupations* for November 1939 Royce C. Brewster and Walter J. Greenleaf show that in sixteen states from 20 to 56 per cent of all high-school pupils are in schools having counselors.

considerations, seems to be an objective better adapted to group work.

Simplification of vocational life is within the bounds of possibility for the future, either through the growth of consumer cooperation or through some form of centralized direction which would break down the democratic opportunity to choose one's way. Capitalism, necessary as it now seems to democratic procedures both in politics and in economics, may in a century of change lose its hold. Enlightenment, if given soon enough, may make for fortunate instead of disastrous change. To this end the capitalist system should be perfected as rapidly and as safely as may be; only by making it work at its best can we have revealed to us what is best to be done next.

Meanwhile the oncoming generation needs guidance—the total population to choose measures and leaders toward better economic adjustments, the nine-tenths of it composed of workers who will serve for wages, and, most of all perhaps, the one-tenth who will become our entrepreneurs.

A new profession—or two? There is no doubt that the dream of Lysander S. Richards is being realized. He called the functionary to conduct this work a “vocopher” in place of Parsons’ name “counselor,” and he did not connect the profession with education as did Parsons. As noted in Chapter 10 there were listed, in 1939, 2,286 counselors; this is more than one-third the number of librarians reported in the 1910 Census. Besides these there are a multitude of teachers devoting a few hours each day to the work of counseling, and the 2,286 does not include the many schools not reporting, or any private schools, or any colleges.

How these counselors have been prepared for their work and just how they counsel are questions that need further study. We have indicated above the issues between two groups: those who seem inclined to decide for the counselee or to offer advice to him, and those who definitely try to teach him how to reach his own conclusions.

A recent writer declares that decisions should be reached by the “counselor *and* the counseled,” but such a decision would be so highly colored by the thinking of the former that one can hardly maintain the thesis that the latter would learn to take the responsibility for making his plans.

If one might hazard a guess based on limited observation it would be that counselor-dominated deciding is in the ascendancy: “overguidance” is the rule. One critic of the other plan declares that it is

useless for the counselor to refrain from giving his opinion since the young person can easily guess it anyway.¹³

If all the above be so, the present writer for one will expect ere long, perhaps when there is a greater sensitiveness to the more subtle implications of true democracy in human relationships, the rise of a new profession of counseling. Workers in this field will assist the student to find his way in and through a world of numerous persons fond of telling him just what he should do, will protect him against both benevolent and sinister suggestion and dictation, will help him to see all the best alternatives in a given situation calling for action, will assist him in examining his case-study data and in analyzing and judging each alternative, and will refrain even from thinking, much less suggesting, the best decision for the young person to make. The tempting but childish question, What do you think I should do? will be handed back to the questioner.

It will gradually be seen, we believe, that even correctness of decision, important as it is, is not so important as learning rightly to make one's own way in a complex world.

This by no means implies freedom to do as one pleases with his own life and activities—far from it. Indeed, the individual's choices are checked upon, and rightly so, by the hazards of admission to the vocational school, to a job itself, and to promotion and success. Moreover the pro-and-con analyses of the several alternatives should bring out the social implications of intended action. That we are members one of another cannot be denied or lost sight of. But the issue here is, Which will contribute most to the better unification of vocational life, a distribution of decisions and occupational activity based on expert opinion and handed to the young as advice, or a distribution and adjustment based on self-generated conclusions, under guidance? Only future history will tell whether the vocational guidance movement has brought into being one new profession or two.

¹³ We do not object to advice on matters of tactics such as seeing an employer, reading a book, considering a specific college, but rather to positive opinion or advice on life-investment of vocation.

Support for our position is implied in the researches of F. J. Roethlisberger and others in *Management and the Worker* (1937, pages 593-6). A counselor for every 300 workers in industry is advocated, to be clothed with no authority and to offer no advice.

Appendix

A. ADDITIONAL EARLY BOOKS

(Supplementary to those named in Chapters 2 and 3)

1. Success books; inspirational:

Sizer, Nelson	<i>What to Do and Why</i>	1872
Matthews, W. D.	<i>Getting on in the World; or Hints on Success in Life</i>	1875
Whipple, E. P.	<i>Success and Its Conditions</i>	1880
Barnum, P. T.	<i>The Art of Money-Getting</i>	1882
Bolton, Mrs. Sarah Knowles	<i>How Success is Won</i>	1885
Tilley, W. J.	<i>Masters of the Situation; or Some Secrets of Success and Power</i>	1887
Butler, B. F.	<i>How to Get Rich</i>	1888
Thayer, W. M.	<i>Success and Its Achievers</i>	1891
	<i>Ethics of Success</i>	1893
Bok, E. W.	<i>Successward</i>	1895
Cleveland, G.	<i>The Self-Made Man in America</i>	1897
Hubbard, E.	<i>A Message to Garcia</i>	1899
Cooley, C. H.	<i>Personal Competition</i>	1899
Bok, E. W.	<i>Keys to Success</i>	1900
Roosevelt, T. R.	"Character and Success" (<i>Outlook Magazine</i> , Vol. LXIV)	1900
Crafts, W. F.	<i>Successful Men of Today, and What They Say of Success</i>	1905
Washington, B. T.	<i>Putting the Most into Life</i>	1906

2. Success books; biographical:

Edgar, J. G.	<i>Footprints of Famous Men</i>	1854
	<i>Boyhood of Great Men</i>	1854
Clarke, J. F.	<i>Memorial and Biographical Addresses</i>	1878
Benjamin, S. C. W.	<i>Our American Artists</i>	1886
Barnard, C.	<i>Tone Masters</i>	1889
Adams, O.	<i>Dear Old Story-Tellers</i>	1889
Hanaford, P.	<i>Daughters of America; or Women of the Century</i>	1893
Horton, E. A.	<i>Noble Lives and Noble Deeds</i>	1893
Stoddard, W. O.	<i>Men of Business</i>	1893
Brooks, E. S.	<i>Great Men's Sons; Who They Were, What They Did, and How They Turned Out</i>	1895
Adams, Wm. H. D.	<i>Childhood and Girlhood of Remarkable Women</i>	1895
Seawell, M. E.	<i>Twelve Naval Captains</i>	1897
Winship, A. E.	<i>Famous American Educators</i>	1900
Lorimer, G. H.	<i>Letters from a Self-Made Merchant to His Son</i>	1902
Williams, S.	<i>Some Successful Americans</i>	1904
Gilbert, A.	<i>More Than Conquerors</i>	1906

Eliot, C. W.	<i>Four American Leaders</i>	1907
Southworth, G. van D.	<i>Builders of Our Country</i>	1907
Palmer, G. H.	<i>Life of Alice Freeman Palmer</i>	1908

3. Books on the training and use of ability:

Pascoe, C. E.	<i>Practical Handbook to the Principal Professions</i>	1878
James, E. J.	<i>The Education of Business Men, in High Schools of Europe</i>	1898
Cooley, C. H.	<i>Personal Competition, Its Place in the Social Order and Effect on Individuals, with Some Consideration on Success</i>	1899
Drysdale, W.	<i>Helps for Ambitious Boys</i>	1899
	<i>Helps for Ambitious Girls</i>	1900
Fowler, N. C.	<i>The Boy; How to Help Him Succeed</i>	1902
	<i>Starting in Life</i>	1906
Lovett, E.	<i>The Making of a Girl</i>	1902
Lorimer, G. H.	<i>Letters from a Self-Made Merchant to His Son</i>	1902
Marden, O. S.	<i>The Young Man Entering Business</i>	1903
Beveridge, A. J.	<i>The Young Man and the World</i>	1906
Rollins, F. W.	<i>What Can a Young Man Do?</i>	1907
Carruth, W. H.	<i>Letters to American Boys</i>	1907
Waterman, N.	<i>Boy Wanted!</i>	1907
	<i>Girl Wanted!</i>	1911
Schuster, E.	<i>The Promise of Youth and the Performance of Manhood</i>	1907
—— and		
Elderton, E. M.	<i>The Inheritance of Ability</i>	1907
Dorland, W. A. N.	<i>The Age of Mental Virility</i>	1908
Wingate, C. F.	<i>What Shall Our Boys Do for a Living?</i>	1908
Corbin, John	<i>Which College for the Boy?</i>	1908

4. Books on specific callings:

Evans, Oliver	<i>The Young Miller's and Millwright's Guide</i>	1790
Pomeroy, R. W.	<i>The Young Mechanic</i>	1844
Burnham, W. P.	<i>Three Roads to a Commission in the United States Army</i>	1893
Reeves, I. L.	<i>Manual for Aspirants to a Commission in the United States Army</i>	1901
Hampton, I. A.	<i>Nursing Ethics for Hospital and Private Use</i> (with a section on the qualifications of nurses)	1901
Matthews, B.	Essay on "Literature as a Profession" in <i>The Historical Novel and Other Essays</i>	1901
Hancock, H. I.	<i>Life at West Point</i>	1902
Ralph, J.	<i>The Making of a Journalist</i>	1903
Bennett, A.	<i>How to Become an Author</i>	1903
Osler, Sir W.	<i>Counsels and Ideals</i> (for medical students)	1905
	<i>Æquanimitas</i>	1906

Dewsnup, E. R.	<i>Railway Organization and Working</i>	1906
Sloan, T. O'P.	<i>How to Become a Successful Electrician</i>	1906
Pattison, T. H.	<i>For the Work of the Ministry</i>	1907
Given, J. L.	<i>Making a Newspaper</i>	1907
Palmer, Geo. H.	<i>The Ideal Teacher</i>	1908
Tisdale, Lt.	<i>Three Years behind the Guns</i>	1908
Marriott, C.	<i>Uncle Sam's Business Told for Young Americans</i>	1908

B. ADDITIONAL DATA CONCERNING FRANK PARSONS

Furnished by Waldro J. Kindig, former principal of Mount Holly High School, and Professor Frank Loxley Griffin, nephew of Parsons

Frank Parsons was born in the family home on Brainerd Street, but when quite young went to live with his aunts in a house that is still standing, at 111 Garden Street. The house is a fine example of the grandeur and architecture of a former generation. He attended Aaron Academy, in a building still standing at the northeast corner of Garden Street and Mount Holly Avenue, about two blocks from his home. This was one of a group of about fifteen academies which flourished in this part of the country during the period of Frank's youth, and was operated by two sisters and a brother. There was a public elementary school in existence at that time, but according to one of my informants only the "poorest of the poor" attended it. Frank was probably prepared for the academy by his aunts.

Frank's paternal grandfather came to America from Cornwall, England, with eleven children. Frank's father's early life was spent in the West, and after Frank's birth he again went west and became a clerk in the General Office of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway. Frank's mother died while the family was in the West and was buried in Topeka, Kansas. Frank was reared almost entirely by his two aunts, Katherine and Rebecca Rhees, who were referred to as "Aunt Kate" and "Aunt Bess."

The Etris sisters were frequent visitors at the home, brought there by their mother who was very fond of Parsons' aunts. The two Etris sisters, who were about Frank's age, learned to know him very well. They recall that his Aunt Bess had given Frank lessons on the piano, and that he played for the entertainment of his friends and sang quite well. They recall that Frank brought many friends to his home from Boston and that he had a very close friend in Philadelphia, Dr. Charles Freeman Taylor.

When Parsons died his body was brought to Mount Holly and now rests in the Mount Holly Cemetery, in the Rhees lot. His grave is between those of his Aunts Katherine and Rebecca, and his grave has a marker bearing the following inscription: "Frank Parsons, 1854-1908, Hero—Teacher—Prophet"; Dr. Taylor insisted on this epitaph.

From the *New Jersey Mirror*, December 20, 1898

"Many years ago, Edward Parsons was known as one of the strongest men and one of the best singers to be found in this part of Jersey. In 1852 he was married to Alice, a daughter of J. Loxley Rhees, and in 1854 their son Frank was born. The boy was sent to the Aaron Academy, and, as he exhibited

marked ability as a mathematician, it was decided to educate him along that line, so he went to Cornell University, took a mathematical and scientific course, and graduated in his 18th year, as a civil engineer. The panic of 1873 threw thousands of civil engineers out of work. There was small chance for new recruits. So the young man went to teaching in Southbridge, Mass. There he worked his way from the district school to the high school, and for some years had charge of the instruction in drawing and painting in all the schools of the town. His success in this work, and in teaching the higher mathematics, was very marked. He helped to organize a fine literary society in the town, and displayed so much enthusiasm and ability as a debater, that Hon. Andrew J. Bartholomew, the leading lawyer of the place, urged him to study the law, offering him such advantages that his assent was easily won. A few weeks later Mr. Parsons was offered the professorship of elocution in Swarthmore College, but he had determined to study law, and could not be swerved from his purpose. His legal studies were finished with Hon. F. P. Goudling, of Worcester, one of the finest lawyers in New England. Afterward Mr. Parsons was for a time the chief clerk in the office of Hyde, Dickinson and Rowe, one of the largest Boston firms. He left them in 1892 to engage in legal writing, in which department he has gained an enviable name for thoroughness, accuracy, and analytic power. The law has not occupied the whole of his time, however. For several years, he gave a course of lectures in Boston, on English literature, at first in the Y. M. C. U. and afterward in the Y. M. C. A. These lectures were so novel in form, and so helpful in the clearness and brevity with which they treated the subject, that they excited much interest, and were finally put into book form, and published by Little, Brown, and Co., of Boston, under the title of 'The World's Best Books.' This led to an engagement with a New York publishing house, under which Mr. Parsons selected the volumes for 'Burt's Library of the World's Best Books,' and wrote introductory notes to a number of them.

"Some years ago, Boston University asked Mr. Parsons to take the lecture-ship on Insurance Law and he has since given a course in that subject, each year, in the law school.

"Since his establishment in Boston the Professor has enjoyed the warm friendship of Dr. Phillips Brooks, Edward Bellamy, and other distinguished persons. He has become well known at the state house and throughout the city, as one of the advance guard in every great movement of reform. His criticism of Herbert Spencer's philosophy, published by the New Nation Company, has received the highest commendation from some of the foremost thinkers of the country, as has also his book on English literature already spoken of. A new book of his, entitled *Our Country's Need*, is about to be brought out by the Arena Publishing Co. Its principles have received the approval of James Russell Lowell, and the warm commendation of Phillips Brooks, who saw the rough draft of the book in 1891.

"Except during the time of his lectures the Professor makes his home in Mount Holly, with his aunts, the Misses Rhees, and has devoted his leisure to the organization and management of a Literary Society, and a Magazine Club, in connection with the Y. M. C. A. These societies have proved very profitable to the members, and of great benefit to the town."

In the same issue of the *Mirror* information on Parsons' maternal grandfather is given. He was a teacher in Philadelphia and Mount Holly, and later superintendent of schools in Northampton township. Later still he kept a circulating library and stationery shop, assisted by his daughters, the aunts above mentioned. He was active in several public offices, and a leader in the temperance movement and in church activities.

Frank Parsons' great-grandfather was a Baptist minister, Rev. Morgan J. Rhees.

The aunt Rebecca Rhees, sister of Frank Parsons' mother, was frequently called "New Jersey's Sweetest Poet"; she wrote the well-known gospel hymn, "I shall be satisfied, when I awake in His likeness."

Henry N. Guterman, who was an intimate friend of Parsons and with the aunt Katherine was with him in his last hours, reminds us that Parsons contributed signed editorials to the Boston *American* for about two years before his death. Guterman has contributed for our collection the March 1908 number of the magazine *Government*, in which Parsons has the leading article (with his picture), "Why President Roosevelt should succeed himself." Many of the arguments might well have applied to 1940 and to Franklin instead of Theodore Roosevelt.

C. FRANK PARSONS' FIRST AND ONLY REPORT

(Square brackets indicate passages later printed in *Choosing a Vocation*)

THE VOCATION BUREAU

FIRST REPORT TO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND TRUSTEES

Civic Service House, May 1st, 1908

The Bureau was established January 13 of this year. The work of organizing, gathering and classifying data, preparing literature, addressing groups of students and young people, and holding private conferences with individual applicants, was begun at once and has continued with increasing vigor and momentum to the present date, excepting the process of organization which was completed April 23. A considerable time was necessary for organization because some of the people whose cooperation was very desirable were out of the city and could not be easily reached.

Even now two or three who are abroad remain to be heard from, and the letter of acceptance from President Woolley of Mount Holyoke College, arrived too late to put her name among the Trustees on the first edition of our letter head.

The cooperation of the Young Men's Christian Association Educational Department, the Women's Educational and Industrial Union and the Economic Club, was secured, and offices opened at all these places, the executive office being at the Civic Service House.

Although the work is very young and a good deal of its life has been consumed in the process of organization, over 80 young men and women from 15 to 39 years of age have come for consultation, and according to their own spontaneous statements, all but 2 have received much light and help, some even declaring that the interview with the Counsellor was the most important hour of their lives. In addition to these direct applications many

letters have been received from persons at a distance. Some printed matter has been sent in response in most cases, but it is comparatively difficult to deal with the more important vocational problems by correspondence, and we are not in position as yet even to make the attempt.

The applicants are of two classes: First, those having well developed aptitudes and interests and a practical basis for a reasonable conclusion in respect to the choice of a vocation: Second, boys and girls with so little experience or manifestation of special aptitudes or interests that there is no basis yet for a wise decision. They are set to investigating different industries and practical testing of themselves to broaden their knowledge and bring to light and develop any special capacities, aptitudes, interests and abilities that may lie dormant in them or may be readily acquired by them.

No attempt is made of course to decide FOR the applicant what his calling should be; but the Bureau tries to help him arrive at a wise, well-founded conclusion for himself. Its mottoes are Light, Information, Inspiration, Co-operation. It helps the boy: 1st. To study and understand himself, his aptitudes, abilities, interests, resources and limitations and their causes; 2nd. To get a knowledge of the conditions of success, advantages and disadvantages, opportunities, etc., in different lines of industry; and 3rd. To reason correctly about the relations of these two groups of facts.

The fundamental principle is adaptation. If a man is doing work for which he has a natural fitness and an adequate preparation,—if his abilities and enthusiasms are united with his daily work and find full scope therein—he has the foundation for a useful and happy life. But if his best abilities and enthusiasms are separated from his work—if his occupation is only a means of making a living, and the work he loves to do is side-tracked into the evening hours or pushed out of his life altogether, he is likely to be only a fraction of the man he ought to be.

The Counsellor usually begins with a 10 or 15 minute talk to a school, a boys' club or some other group of young people, about the importance of plan and method in the choice of a vocation and the development of an all-round, complete and balanced life. Then individual appointments are made with those who wish for consultation, and the careful studies on which a wise decision may be based are begun and carried out in a systematic, scientific manner. Ancestry, family, education, reading, experience, interests, aptitudes, abilities, limitations, resources, etc., are inquired into. The memory is tested and the general intelligence so far as possible, the senses also and delicacy of touch, nerve, sight and hearing reactions, association time, etc., where these facts appear to be important elements in the problem. For example, an artist needs among other things, a good visual memory and delicacy of touch; a dentist should have keen sight, delicate touch and correlation of hand and eye, and plenty of nerve; and if the verbal memory is defective or the auditory reactions are slow, it would probably be difficult to become a thoroughly expert stenographer. So again, slow sight and hearing reactions would be one indication against the probability of becoming highly expert at telegraphy.

The workers in some psychological laboratories think the tests of reaction time are liable to too much variation from special causes, difference in the stimulus, attention, emotional conditions, etc., to be of much practical value.

But the Yale experiments on sight and hearing reactions seem to afford a clear basis for taking such facts into account in forming a rational judgment, and that is the opinion of a number of investigators of high authority. When the normal reactions and the extreme reactions under intense stimulation and keen attention, are carefully tested and compared with average results, the data certainly afford some light on the individual's probable aptitudes and capacities. Other things equal, a girl with slow normal hearing reactions could not expect to become so readily and completely proficient in stenography as a girl whose normal reactions are unusually quick. Tests of association-time, memory-time, will-time, etc., may throw some light on the probability of developing power in cross examination, executive ability, fitness to manage large affairs, etc. Rapidity and definiteness of memory and association, promptness and clearness of decision, etc., are certainly more favorable than their opposites to the development of the powers just mentioned. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that such indications are only straws, hints to be taken into account with all the other facts of the case. The handicap of slow decision or imperfect memory, may be more than overcome by superiority in industry, earnestness, vitality, endurance, common sense, sound judgment, etc.

The following list of leaflets and tabular statements indicates the scope of the work in its present stage of development. Samples of the circulars and statements that are available for distribution accompany this report.

Circulars "TO YOUNG PEOPLE," [*Choosing a Vocation*, p. 100], "TO WORKERS" [*ibid.*, p. 99], and "TO EMPLOYERS" [p. 98], "INSTRUCTIONS to Those Desiring the Services of the Bureau" [p. 26].

A 4-page leaflet full of "PERSONAL DATA" [p. 27], or questions to be answered in the process of arriving at that self-knowledge on which a true conclusion must be founded.

A schedule [p. 32], for the use of Counsellors and their assistants covering not only the personal points in the 4-page leaflet prepared for the use of applicants, but all the additional tests and questions the Counsellor has found useful in dealing with specific cases. This schedule already includes several hundred points and will ultimately constitute a manual or guide book for our Counsellors in the questioning and testing of young men and women that is incident to the process of thorough self-revelation.

Another line of study and investigation has filled 29 large sheets with data in regard to the CONDITIONS OF SUCCESS in different industries [p. 49]; first the fundamentals, applicable in large measure to all industries, and second, the special conditions applicable to particular industries or groups of industries. For example, health, energy, care, enthusiasm, reliability, love of the work, etc., are essential to the best success in any industry; while power of expression with the voice is peculiarly related to success in the ministry, law and public life; organizing and executive ability, knowledge of human nature and ability to deal with it and to manage men harmoniously and effectively, are important factors in business affairs of the larger sort; and delicacy of touch, coordination of hand and brain, fine sense of color, form and proportion, strong memory for visual impressions, etc., are special elements in artistic success.

OPPORTUNITIES, SPECIFIC AND GENERAL in different lines of work are being classified with reference to each of the leading industries and also with regard to the location of industrial centers of various sorts and the GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF DEMAND. We have a table showing all the leading industries in Massachusetts with their relative development and geographical centers. Similar tables will be made for other states and for the United States.

Attention is also given to the relative growth of industries and the MOVEMENT of demand. For instance, Census figures show that the rate of development in the printing trade in Massachusetts is 4 times the rate of progress for the whole group of manufacturing and mechanical industries. Data in regard to pay, conditions of labor, chances of advancement, etc., are also being collected and systematized.

Classification of and cooperation with employment agencies of various sorts form important elements in our work. In some cases the Bureau has helped to place young people by direct communication with employers. It is hoped that this may ultimately be done to a considerable extent in the case of applicants possessing marked abilities and aptitudes specially related to specific opportunities and requirements in different lines of work. But it is constantly necessary to emphasize the fact that the Bureau is not an employment agency; that the aid it gives in finding an opening is merely incidental to the main purpose of helping the applicant use true methods of self-investigation and industrial study, make a wise vocational choice and adopt the best means for developing full efficiency in the chosen field; and that the finding of employment for the most part must be left to the regular agencies and the ordinary methods appropriate to that object with such special light and information as the Bureau can give to the problem. In other words, the Bureau will so far as possible make use of existing agencies and methods, and devote its energies to the work that is peculiar to it and constitutes the fundamental reason for its establishment.

We have in tabular form the COURSES given in the leading vocational schools of this and other states, and are making bird's-eye tables of all the day and evening courses in or near Boston that have a vocational bearing, noting the length of each course, its beginning, time per day and week, age and conditions of admission, cost, opportunities of earning money while studying, etc., so that young men and women can see at a glance all the institutions that give such courses as they may desire and the relative advantages as to time, cost and conditions. If the boy is living at home the Bureau will give him copies of its tabulated courses so that he may go over the matter in detail with his parents.

We have also considerable material relating to APPRENTICESHIP METHODS of training, and to the success and failure of COLLEGE MEN IN BUSINESS. It is very important for young men who are taking, or are going to take, a college course, to understand the industrial and other benefits that may be derived from advanced study and also to be on their guard against the dangers to efficiency and business success that may result from habits of mere absorption and book study without due balance in active expression and

constructive work, or proper development of the faculties through which the knowledge accumulated can be made of use to the world.

If the Counsellor finds the MEMORY of the applicant below the standard he gives the youth a printed analysis [p. 104] of the means of developing the memory and securing the best results from it, with a little talk to emphasize the importance of memory and method as the foundations of mastery, grasp and efficient performance.

A leaflet called "SUGGESTIONS FOR A PLAN OF LIFE" [p. 102] is also given in many cases with oral instructions sufficient to make it vital to the recipient. It is intended to direct attention to the elements essential to an all-round, symmetrical development, and the value of making a good plan and living up to it instead of drifting through life like a rudderless boat.

Special effort is made to develop ANALYTIC POWER wherever the need appears. The power to see the essential facts and principles in a book, or a man, or a mass of business data, economic facts, or political and social affairs, reduce these essentials to their lowest terms and group them in their true relations in brief diagrams or pictures, is invaluable in any department of life where clear thinking and intellectual grasp are important elements. This analytic power is one of the corner stones of mastery and achievement. To develop it we give the student samples of analytic work, and ask him to read a good book and analyze it or make an investigation and reduce the facts to analytic form. We have already about \$300 worth of the best books in the world, some of which are almost sure to interest the applicant and any one of which he is welcome to take home with him on condition of signing an agreement to read it carefully, make at least a page of analytic notes relating to the points he deems of most importance and be ready to answer the Counsellor's questions about the book. After the student has had some practice in analysis we use a more extensive contract which calls for a dozen items or such portions of them as the Counsellor may deem best to ask for.

Not less important is the work done in the direction of developing CIVIC INTEREST. The boy is impressed with the fact that he is or soon will be one of the directors and rulers of the United States; that his part in civic affairs is quite as important as his occupation, vital as that undoubtedly is; that all-round manhood should be the aim, and making a living is only one arc of the circle, and that he must study to be a good citizen as well as a good worker.

The Bureau's leaflets entitled "CIVIC SUGGESTIONS" [p. 105], "LINCOLN'S MESSAGE TO YOUNG MEN," and "ANALYSIS OF PARLIAMENTARY LAW," are very useful in this connection. The latter enables the young man to fit himself with very little effort to join in the discussions of a town meeting, young men's Congress or debating society, or preside over a meeting with credit to himself if called to the chair. Very often the youth can be led to read and analyze a series of good books on government and public questions, beginning perhaps with Dole and Fiske on Citizenship and Civil Government, or with Forman's "Advanced Civics," and Bryce's "American Commonwealth," and continuing with the works of Albert Shaw, Zueblin, Howe and Steffens, the famous speeches of Wendell Phillips and the messages of Lincoln, Washington, and Roosevelt, the important prob-

lem books, such as Moody's "Truth About the Trusts," "Wealth against Commonwealth," "Labor Copartnership," "The Story of New Zealand," etc., and some of the principal books on history, economics and sociology.

The work is in its infancy as yet but it is constantly growing in volume and importance. The Director and those associated with him are enthusiastic over the results that have been achieved even in the few weeks since the Bureau was established, but they believe that in order to cover the field in the most complete and adequate manner the work should become a part of the public school system in every community, with experts trained as carefully in the art of vocational guidance as men are trained today for medicine or the law, and supplied with every facility that science can devise for testing the senses and capacities and the whole physical, intellectual and emotional makeup of the child.

FRANK PARSONS

Director and Counsellor

[A number of case studies followed the report; some are given in *Choosing a Vocation*.]

D. A FEW ADDITIONAL SCHOOLS WHICH EARLY OFFERED VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

California School of Mechanical Arts, San Francisco (see Chapter 4)

Westport High School, Conn. (Chapter 10)

High School of Practical Arts, Boston (Chapter 7)

Other Boston Schools (Stratton D. Brooks in Bloomfield's *Readings in Vocational Guidance*)

Wadleigh High School, New York

Julia Richman High School, New York

East Side Continuation School, New York

Manhattan Trade School, New York

Grand Rapids High School (Jesse B. Davis in *Vocational and Moral Guidance*)

Middletown High School, Conn.

Vergennes High School, Vt.

Pomona High School, Calif.

Arsenal Technical High School, Indianapolis

San Jose High School, Calif. (Charles L. Jacobs in *Manual Training and Vocational Education*, October 1915)

South Philadelphia High School for Girls

Mishawaka High School, Ind. (D. W. Horton in *The School Review*, April 1915)

Stadium High School, Seattle (C. E. Westgate in *Manual Training and Vocational Education*, March 1916)

Brooklyn High School for Boys (Chapter 8)

Brooklyn Continuation School

Hamilton City High School, Calif. (Ella M. Barkley in *The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, May 1924)

Long Beach High School, Calif. (Chapter 8)

Oakland Technical High School, Calif.

DeKalb High School, Ill. (F. M. Giles in the convention proceedings, 1913)
Somerville High School, Mass. (Bessie D. Davis in Bloomfield's *Readings*)
Des Moines High School (Reports by Anna Lalor Burdick)
Schools in Cleveland, Rochester, and Syracuse

These instances are in addition to the schools of the cities first establishing departments (see Chapter 8). W. Carson Ryan, Jr., in *Vocational Guidance and the Public Schools* (1918) lists hundreds of schools reporting placement at that date. Franklin J. Keller in *Day Schools for Young Workers* (1924) tells of guidance in continuation schools. See also the early issues of the *Vocational Guidance Bulletin*, which give many descriptions of plans in individual schools (see especially the January 1916 number, which lists 146 high schools in 30 states).

E. SUMMARY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF PLACEMENT

(A fuller statement is on file with the historical papers.)

One important goal (and tool) of vocational guidance activities is proper placement: the settling of each individual under conditions favorable to his growth in the vocation for which he is best fitted by interest, ability, and training. Earlier steps in vocational guidance lead up to this point; subsequent activities guide in necessary readjustments.

A backward glance shows that the first placement activities were carried on by private fee-charging agencies whose motive was profit. During the Middle Ages guilds assisted workmen who were traveling about in search of employment by posting in journeymen's hostels lists of local vacancies. In Sweden, and in other countries during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, employment activities were carried on by the craft guilds. Fee-charging registry offices for household workers were set up in Nuremberg and other German cities as early as 1421. In the later nineteenth century agencies for domestic service and agricultural workers in Sweden began to supply workers to Germany and Denmark. Corrupt practices, perhaps misrepresentation of positions, acceptance of illegal fees, and scheming between agency and employers whereby large numbers of workers were hired and dismissed shortly afterward must have existed, for laws against the private bureaus were passed again and again, the first measure in France in 1852. In 1875 six cantons in Switzerland required private agencies to be licensed; by 1900 most other countries had regulations concerning them.

Trade-unions gradually assumed the responsibility of finding employment for their members, but in France master workmen opposed these organizations and laws were passed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries forbidding placement bureaus under the unions and requiring workers to register for employment with the guilds. In England almost all the trade-unions assisted their members in getting work. In some countries there arose employment bureaus operated by employers' organizations to compete with those of the unions.

The earliest employment bureaus in the United States were private fee-charging ones which date from 1820. In 1904 there were 450 licensed agencies in New York City; in 1910 there were a total of 838, including 393 for

domestic servants and 191 for theatrical performers. Agencies located in the foreign part of the city carried on wasteful and often unpleasant competition. Investigations of the private agencies disclosed dishonest practices; the Commissioner of the Missouri Labor Bureau, in a report for 1897, stated:

Not all of the employment agencies can be classed as fraudulent, but in all the investigations made by this department in St. Louis alone, a large majority of them were found to outrival in their methods the worst gambling and confidence games in this city. Yet their systems of robbery are so cunningly devised and so skillfully operated that it is almost impossible to convict them under the existing law.

By 1900 twelve states, Colorado, Illinois, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island, had legislation concerning agencies. The laws usually required a bond or a license, forbade agencies being maintained where liquor was sold, and required that records be kept. Between 1904 and 1909, 103 licenses were revoked by the commissioner of licenses in New York City, and, in 1910, \$4,550 was refunded in this city as a result of complaints.

Various philanthropic and semiphilanthropic organizations have carried on placement activities. The Boston Young Women's Christian Association in its Second Annual Report (1868) stated:

There have been five hundred applicants for board and employment, some of whom we could assist, but to many we could only suggest that they make every possible effort on their own behalf. . . . A committee has taken in hand the matter of searching for employment for young women, and through this means employers are informed of our ability to supply their need of help. . . . Employers who desire to obtain the services of such young women in their business, will find the Superintendent ready to aid them with the information she will be able to give.

The United Charities of Chicago for many years has found work for unemployed persons as a means of relief. The B'nai B'rith maintained a free employment bureau. The German Society of Chicago in 1880 established a free employment bureau which placed Germans and large numbers of Austrians, Swiss, and Russians. The Swedish National Association of Chicago was founded in 1894 to provide a free employment bureau for Swedes. Similar organizations existed in other large cities.

Up to this point, it will be noted, placement was too often a matter of private enterprise. The work of commercial agencies was supplemented by the employment activities of such philanthropic organizations as wished to protect workers from the dishonest and questionable practices of existing agencies. Before 1908 there was no sign of any attempt at vocational guidance: no effort to discover interests and abilities or to give information about different occupations.

The second stage in the development of placement is that of direct government action. The first free public employment bureaus which began to appear in the middle of the last century were municipal. At first they were poorly

staffed and financed, and often associated with relief; gradually they came, first under state, and then under federal control and support.

The first free employment office in Europe was opened in Dresden, Germany, in 1840. In 1848 the provisional government in France voted to establish free information bureaus in each of the districts of Paris. A law of 1904 required each of the larger cities to maintain free municipal employment bureaus, and all others to maintain registries for offers of employment and demands for it. The first public employment office in Switzerland was organized in 1887 at St. Gall; seven others were being maintained in 1900. Municipal employment offices were opened in 1902 in Helsingborg and Gothenburg, Sweden. There were thirty-five municipal bureaus in Europe and America before 1908.

Free employment bureaus in England really began with the Labor Exchanges Act of 1909. There were 414 exchanges and 927 branch offices in Great Britain in 1913; men, women, and juveniles are served, except where the latter were provided for by educational authorities. In *Statistical Procedure in Public Employment Offices* (1933) Bryce M. Stewart reports that "special emphasis in the placement activities of the exchange is given to vocational guidance."

Federal control and support of employment bureaus came after the financial crisis of 1893-94. The Riksdag voted a subsidy for the bureaus in Sweden in 1908. Federal legislation in Switzerland in 1909 granted subsidies of one-third to one-half the expenses of this work; in 1914 a central placement office for Germany was established, and France established a central employment bureau. There is no early record of any effort to guide in the selection of an occupation, nor even in the selection of a job.

In 1834 the first municipal employment office was established by the corporation of the city of New York. It was provided that a place be designated in every market where those who wanted work could meet those who wanted workers. In 1869 San Francisco voted a bond issue to aid in the support of the California Labor Exchange, a free employment office established by voluntary effort. After the financial crisis of 1893 Los Angeles and Seattle opened employment offices. Two more cities established agencies before 1900: Detroit in 1895 and Superior in 1899. The seven established between 1900 and 1908 were in north central and western cities: Duluth, Butte, Great Falls, Sacramento, Tacoma, Spokane, and Portland.

State agencies have been developing since 1890, when Ohio established the first. It provided for employment offices in the five principal cities of the state—Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus, Dayton, and Toledo—the expenses to be divided between the state and the municipalities. Two other states, Iowa after a five months' trial in 1892-93 and New York after a ten-year period, 1896-1906, discontinued their bureaus. The Iowa law, however, became a model for later developments in California, Kansas, Montana, and Nebraska. Illinois (1899) had offices in the larger cities. In 1899 Missouri opened offices in St. Louis and Kansas City. State employment activities in Massachusetts date from 1906. In 1908 sixteen states had offices.

The year 1907 marks the beginning of federal employment service in the United States. The United States Employment Service, a division of in-

formation in the Bureau of Immigration of the Department of Commerce and Labor, was created "to promote a beneficial distribution of aliens admitted to the United States among the several states and territories desiring immigration." In 1918 this work was made a separate branch of the Department of Labor, administered by the assistant secretary. At that time the aim was to help industries rather than to help workers to secure jobs. During 1919-20 the national program was curtailed, to be extended again during the 1929-40 depression and reorganized in 1939 as explained below.

In Philadelphia there was in 1835 an American Association for the Supply of Teachers. Although practically a teachers' association, in 1839 it had a permanent secretary and began to place teachers at a fee of 5 per cent of one year's salary, 2.5 per cent from the employer and 2.5 from the employee. A commercial teachers' agency was opened by Samuel Whitcomb, Jr., on November 4, 1846, in Boston; it was approved by Horace Mann. Between 1870 and 1890 nearly 200 commercial teachers' agencies operated in the United States; the number has decreased to approximately 150, due largely to the placement work of educational institutions.

In many colleges and universities placement, largely of teachers, was carried on before 1908 by a secretary (see Chapter 10).

Three state teacher-placement bureaus were founded before 1908: that of Connecticut in 1900, Massachusetts in 1906, and Michigan in 1907. Two more were established in the following nine years; by 1920 there were eighteen.

Placement bureaus for college graduates were opened about 1910 and became very general.

Organized plans of placement by the public schools likewise became common after 1910. In 1918 W. Carson Ryan, Jr., sent an inquiry to 10,400 schools to learn the number of schools maintaining "departments or bureaus designed to assist young persons in securing employment"; he received 962 affirmative replies.

The Wagner-Peyser Act of June, 1933, created the United States Employment Service, a bureau of the Department of Labor, replacing the federal organization of the same name. It also provided for the maintenance of a veterans' service, a farm placement service, and a public employment service for the District of Columbia. At the end of the second year twenty-five states were affiliated. In the May, 1936, *Employment Service News*, W. Frank Persons, director of the service, made this statement concerning the placement of juniors:

X Whether the school or the public employment offices are to assume the major responsibility for the placement of young people must be determined by practical considerations in each community. In either case, success depends upon the fullest co-operation between these agencies. The schools must give the employment service the benefit of their previous experience with the applicants, and the employment service must help the schools in matters of technique and organization.

In the majority of offices there has been a complete junior division handling all phases of placement work; it handles reception, registration, em-

ployment counseling, and follow-up after placement, actual placement being in the hands of the adult division. Interviewing younger applicants is accepted as a specialized task. The work with juniors includes special investigation of jobs for violation of labor laws, moral or physical risks, and follow-up after placement.

In July, 1939, the reorganization bill was passed, and the new Federal Security Agency was created to include the United States Employment Service, the United States Office of Education, the United States Public Health Service, the National Youth Administration, the Social Security Board, the Food and Drug Administration, and the Civilian Conservation Corps. Within this agency, and specifically, the Bureau of Employment Security of the Social Security Board took over the former United States Employment Service and the Bureau of Unemployment Compensation.

The 1940 status of this work is explained in two articles in the January, 1940, issue of *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, by Louise C. Odencrantz, Director of Training, New York State Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance, and Floyd W. Reeves, Director of the American Youth Commission. The article gives a summary of developments, indicating plans for federal-state co-operation, and naming the special sections of placement: for veterans, for the handicapped, for Negroes, and for juniors. Reeves outlines the various services for youth. On placement for juniors he speaks of three different typical plans now under trial: at Providence the school system does the placement, with financial assistance from the State Employment Service; in St. Louis placement is carried on by the local State Employment Office, which receives help from the schools and the National Youth Administration; in Baltimore placement is offered by both the school system and the State Employment Service. As in England, so here, differing plans seem to work to good ends. Experts are studying the experiments; in 1940 there were 552 offices in 480 cities, with 904 counselors serving juniors.

F. CONVENTIONS OF THE NATIONAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION WITH CONCURRENT OR AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| Nov. 1910 | Boston: National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education (informal conference) |
| Oct. 1912 | New York: (decision to organize) |
| (1) Oct. 1913 | Grand Rapids: National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education (organization effected) |
| (2) Dec. 1914 | Richmond: Same society (permanent constitution adopted) |
| Aug. 1915 | Oakland: (conference—not a convention) |
| (3) Feb. 1916 | Detroit: Department of Superintendence, National Education Association |
| (4) Apr. 1917 | Philadelphia: Employment Managers' Association |
| (5) Feb. 1918 | Atlantic City: United States Bureau of Education |
| (6) Feb. 1919 | St. Louis |
| (7) Feb. 1920 | Chicago: Vocational Education Association of the Middle West and National Society for Vocational Education |
| (8) Feb. 1921 | Atlantic City: National Society for Vocational Education |
| (9) Feb. 1922 | Chicago: Department of Superintendence, N.E.A. |

- (10) Nov. 1922 Detroit: National Society for Vocational Education, Vocational Education Association of the Middle West and National Home Economics Association
- (11) Feb. 1924 Chicago: Department of Superintendence, N.E.A.
- (12) Feb. 1925 Cincinnati: National Association of Secondary School Principals
- (13) Feb. 1926 Washington: Department of Superintendence, N.E.A.
- (14) Feb. 1927 Dallas: Same department
- (15) Feb. 1928 Boston: Same
- (16) Feb. 1929 Cleveland: Same
- (17) Feb. 1930 Atlantic City: Same
- (18) Feb. 1931 Detroit: Same
- (19) Feb. 1932 Washington
- (20) Feb. 1933 Minneapolis
- (21) Feb. 1934 Cleveland: National Association of Deans of Women, National Association of Principals of Schools for Girls, Personnel and Guidance Association, Personnel Research Federation, National College Personnel Association, Teachers' College Personnel Association
- (22) Feb. 1935 Atlantic City
- (23) Feb. 1936 St. Louis: American Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations
- (24) Feb. 1937 New Orleans: American Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations, National Association of Deans of Women, American College Personnel Association
- (25) Feb. 1938 Atlantic City: American Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations
- (26) Feb. 1939 Cleveland: Same
- (27) Feb. 1940 St. Louis: Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations
- (28) Feb. 1941 Atlantic City: Same
- (29) Feb. 1942 San Francisco: Same

G. OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION

	President	First Vice-President	Second Vice-President	Secretary	Treasurer
Oct. 1913	Frank M. Leavitt	Alice P. Barrows	Jesse B. Davis	James S. Hiatt
	Executive Council: Meyer Bloomfield, M. Edith Campbell, George P. Knox, O. W. Burroughs, E. M. Robinson (Elected Oct. 1913)				
Dec. 1914	Jesse B. Davis	Anne S. Davis	W. Carson Ryan, Jr.	James S. Hiatt
	Executive Council: Frank M. Leavitt, C. A. Prosser, A. W. Dunn, F. B. Dyer, Meyer Bloomfield				
Feb. 1916	Meyer Bloomfield	Frank M. Leavitt	Jesse B. Davis	W. Carson Ryan, Jr.	D. H. Holbrook
	Executive Council: C. A. Prosser, F. G. Bonser, E. P. Cubberley, D. S. Hill, J. C. Frazee				
Feb. 1918	Frank V. Thompson	Jesse B. Davis	Helen T. Woolley	R. W. Kelly	D. H. Holbrook
	Executive Council: C. A. Prosser, R. J. Fuller, G. Vernon Bennett, Cleo Murtland, E. Rynearson, W. Carson Ryan, Jr.				

	President	First Vice-President	Second Vice-President	Secretary	Treasurer
Feb. 1920	John M. Brewer	Katherine Ball	Mrs. Max Morgenthau	Russell Allen	George Chatfield
Feb. 1921	Helen T. Woolley	O. D. Evans	Beatrice Doerschuk	Anne S. Davis	Josiah B. Buell
	Trustees: Margaret Brown, John M. Brewer, A. F. Payne, W. M. Proctor, Dorothea de Schweinitz				
Feb. 1922	Anne S. Davis	Edward Rynearson	Dorothea de Schweinitz	Elizabeth Cleveland	Arthur F. Payne
	Trustees: Ruth S. Clark, Mary Stewart, F. J. Allen, Helen T. Woolley, Harriet E. Towne				
Nov. 1922	H. D. Kitson	Dorothea de Schweinitz	Harriet E. Towne	John M. Brewer	Arthur F. Payne
	Trustees: A. Fertsch, Anne S. Davis, Frank Leavitt, Helen T. Woolley, Mary Stewart				
Feb. 1924	Edward Rynearson	Dorothea de Schweinitz	W. M. Proctor	Anne S. Davis	J. McKinney
	Trustees: H. D. Kitson, J. H. Beveridge, Beatrice Doerschuk, Helen Dernbach, F. J. Allen				
Feb. 1925	Dorothea de Schweinitz	A. H. Edgerton	Max F. Meyer	Anne S. Davis	H. H. Bixler
	Trustees: H. D. Kitson, Mary Stewart, Mary H. S. Hayes, Edward Rynearson, John M. Brewer, F. J. Allen				
Feb. 1926	W. Carson Ryan, Jr.	A. H. Edgerton	Anne S. Davis	Mary P. Corre	Mary H. S. Hayes
	Trustees: H. D. Kitson, Mary Stewart, V. Dickson, Dorothea de Schweinitz, John M. Brewer, F. J. Allen				
Feb. 1927	A. H. Edgerton	G. E. Myers	Mabelle Blake	Virginia Peeler	Susan J. Ginn
	Trustees: H. D. Kitson, O. Latham Hatcher, V. Dickson, John M. Brewer, Mary Stewart, W. Carson Ryan, Jr., F. C. Smith				
Feb. 1928	Mary H. S. Hayes	W. M. Proctor	C. C. Robinson	Emma P. Cooley	Bertha Shepard
	Trustees: A. H. Edgerton, O. Latham Hatcher, Mary Stewart, J. D. Stark, Leona Buchwald, F. C. Smith				
Feb. 1929	R. D. Allen	C. C. Robinson	Emma P. Cooley	Helen Dernbach	Mary Schauffler
	Trustees: Mary H. S. Hayes, Francis Bradshaw, G. E. Hutcherson, M. Stewart, L. Miller, D. Robertson, F. C. Smith				
Feb. 1930	Emma P. Cooley	C. C. Robinson	G. E. Hutcherson	Helen Dernbach	Mary Schauffler
	Trustees: R. D. Allen, Francis Bradshaw, G. E. Hutcherson, W. V. Bingham, L. Miller, D. Robertson, F. C. Smith				
	Field Secretary: Robert Hoppock				
Feb. 1931	G. E. Myers	Mildred E. Lincoln	O. Latham Hatcher	Helen Dernbach	Mary Schauffler
	Trustees: Walter V. Bingham, Edward W. Boshart, Emma P. Cooley, Anne Davis, F. J. Keller, Edith D. Gwinn, F. C. Smith				
	Field Secretary: Robert Hoppock				

	President	First Vice-President	Second Vice-President	Secretary	Treasurer
Feb. 1932	Mildred E. Lincoln	William M. Proctor	Arthur J. Jones	Helen Dernbach	Warren K. Layton
	Trustees: Edward W. Boshart, Mary P. Corre, Edith D. Gwinn, Franklin J. Keller, George E. Myers, C. E. Partch				
	Field Secretary: Robert Hoppock				
Feb. 1933	William M. Proctor	Susan J. Ginn	Ralph L. Newing	Fred C. Smith	William F. Patterson
	Trustees: Mary P. Corre, O. Latham Hatcher, Harold L. Holbrook, Mildred E. Lincoln, C. E. Partch, Harriet E. Towne				
Feb. 1934	Susan J. Ginn	Arthur J. Jones	Mary P. Corre	Fred C. Smith	William F. Patterson
	Trustees: O. Latham Hatcher, Harold L. Holbrook, Harry D. Kitson, George E. Myers, William M. Proctor, Harriet E. Towne				
Feb. 1935	Arthur J. Jones	Leona C. Buchwald	R. B. Cunliffe	Fred C. Smith	William F. Patterson
	Trustees: Frances Cummings, Susan J. Ginn, O. Latham Hatcher, Harry D. Kitson, George E. Myers, C. E. Partch				
Feb. 1936	Leona C. Buchwald	R. B. Cunliffe	Barbara Wright	Fred C. Smith	Roy N. Anderson
	Trustees: Frances Cummings, Susan J. Ginn, O. Latham Hatcher, Harry D. Kitson, George E. Myers, C. E. Partch				
Feb. 1937	Franklin J. Keller	Mary P. Corre	William F. Patterson	Fred C. Smith	Roy N. Anderson
	Trustees: Leona C. Buchwald, A. H. Edgerton, Harry D. Kitson, Mildred E. Lincoln, George E. Myers, William M. Proctor				
Feb. 1938	Frances Cummings	Warren K. Layton	Elizabeth L. Woods	Fred C. Smith	Roy N. Anderson
	Trustees: A. H. Edgerton, Mildred Lincoln Billings, Franklin J. Keller, Dorothea de Schweinitz, Jerome H. Bentley, Cleo Murtland				
Feb. 1939	Rex B. Cunliffe	Mary P. Corre	George E. Hutcherson	Ralph B. Kenney	Roy N. Anderson
	Trustees: Frances Cummings, A. H. Edgerton, Mildred Lincoln Billings, Dorothea de Schweinitz, Jerome H. Bentley, Harry D. Kitson				
Feb. 1940	Mary P. Corre	George E. Hutcherson	Mildred M. Hickman	Ralph B. Kenney	Roy N. Anderson
	Trustees: Rex B. Cunliffe, A. H. Edgerton, Mildred Lincoln Billings, Jerome H. Bentley, Harry D. Kitson, Vernon S. Stevens				
Feb. 1941	George E. Hutcherson	Margaret E. Bennett	C. Gilbert Wrenn	Ralph B. Kenney	Arnold M. Hess
	Trustees: Jerome H. Bentley, Mary P. Corre, Mildred M. Hickman, William K. Hopkins, Carroll L. Shartle, Vernon S. Stevens				
	Secretary: Clarence W. Failer (September, 1941)				

H. MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION, 1914-1915

Leonard P. Ayres, W. C. Bagley, H. R. Barber, William T. Bawden, George W. Benton, Meyer Bloomfield, Alice C. Boughton, E. J. Brown, Margaret Brown, William C. Bruce, Edith M. Campbell, Albert D. Chip-

man, Bess M. Crisman, Anne S. Davis, Jesse B. Davis, Martha Mills Davis, Philip Davis, Perry L. Day, F. W. Dobbryn, A. E. Todd, Annie Dunster, Horace A. Eaton, J. D. Elliff, William P. Evans, Emery Filbert, Jeanie M. Frank, John C. Frazee, Frank P. Goodwin, Benjamin C. Gruenberg, Wallace E. Hackett, George Francis Hall, C. R. Hebble, Wilson H. Henderson, Maida Herman, Warren E. Hicks, A. B. Hill, David Spence Hill, David H. Holbrook, A. S. Hurrell, Bur W. Johnson, Harry W. Jones, Ernest B. Kent, Maud G. Leadbetter, Frank M. Leavitt, R. R. Lutz, James Mahoney, Cleo Murtland, J. J. O'Brien, H. S. Person, C. A. Prosser, Pettis A. Reid, W. L. Richardson, B. N. Roberts, W. Carson Ryan, Jr., S. D. Shankland, C. I. Shirley, A. W. Siemers, S. J. Slawson, L. W. Smith, W. C. Smith, Robert J. Teall, B. H. Van Oot, Mrs. Jno. B. Webb, Arthur L. Williston, Mary Schenck Woolman, E. A. Wreidt, C. A. Zuppann, W. W. Zurbrick; National League of Nursing Education.

I. BRANCHES OF THE NATIONAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION, 1942

1920	Philadelphia and Vicinity	Detroit
	New England	Dallas, Texas
	Northern California (formerly	Milwaukee
	California)	1930 Capital District, New York
	Cincinnati	1931 Virginia
	New York City	1932 Wyoming
	Chicago	1936 Worcester, Massachusetts
	Minneapolis	Western Michigan
1921	Kansas City, Kansas	Atlanta, Georgia
1922	District of Columbia (for-	Kentucky
	merly Washington)	1937 South Texas
	Southern California	Honolulu (formerly Territory
1923	Rochester	of Hawaii)
	Western Pennsylvania	1938 Vermont
	New Orleans	Ontario, Canada
1924	Northeastern Ohio	Northwestern Ohio
1925	Teachers College, Columbia	Central Ohio
	University	Binghamton, New York
	St. Louis, Missouri	Montana
	Colorado	1939 Rockland County, New York
1926	Wisconsin	Southern Tier, New York
	Maryland	Western New York
1927	North Carolina	Jackson, Michigan
1928	Iowa	Central Pennsylvania
	Seattle, Washington	Westchester, New York
	Rhode Island	1940 Guayama, Puerto Rico
	Central New York	Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico
	Kansas (formerly Wichita,	Baltimore
	Kansas)	Mid-Hudson
1929	Connecticut	Northern Indiana
	New Jersey	

Erie	1941	New York University
Quad City Area, Iowa		Mountain State, West Vir-
Middle Tennessee		ginia
East Tennessee		Merrimac Valley, Mass.
National Capital (District of		Omaha, Neb.
Columbia)		Florida, South
		Mohawk Valley, N. Y.
		Lansing, Mich.

J. THE PERIODICAL OF THE VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE MOVEMENT

Vocational Guidance Bulletin

Published at the United States Office of Education, for the National Vocational Guidance Association, by W. Carson Ryan, Jr., Secretary:

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Vol. II, No. 1, January 1916; 4 pp. No. 2, February 1916; 4 pp. No. 3, March 1916; 4 pp. No. 4, April 1916; 4 pp. No. 5, May 1916; 4 pp. No. 6, June-July 1916; 8 pp. No. 7, October (year omitted); 8 pp. No. 8, November-December 1916; 8 pp.

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Published at Harvard University, Cambridge, Frederick J. Allen, Editor:

Vol. I, No. 5, December 1922; 6" x 9", 16 pp. No. 6, January 1923; pp. 77-100. (Advertisements began in No. 6.) (Why this issue began with page 77 is not clear.) No. 7, February 1923; pp. 101-120. No. 8, March 1923; pp. 121-140. No. 9, April 1923; pp. 141-164. No. 10, May 1923; pp. 165-188.

Vol. II, No. 1, October 1923; pp. 1-24. No. 2, November 1923; pp. 25-48. No. 3, December 1923; pp. 49-72. No. 4, January 1924; pp. 73-100. No. 5, February 1924; pp. 101-136.

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Vol. II, No. 6, March 1924; 6" x 9", pp. 137-172. No. 7, April 1924; pp. 173-208. No. 8, May 1924; pp. 209-240.

Vol. III, Eight numbers October-May 1924-1925; 302 pp. (The May 1925 number was the first with a cover—blue.)

Vol. IV, Eight numbers 1925-1926; 408 pp.

Vol. V, Eight numbers 1926-1927; 400 pp.

(Here Fred C. Smith became Editor.)

Vol. VI, 1927-1928; 384 pp.

Vol. VII, 1928-1929; 384 pp.

Vol. VIII, 1929-1930; 400 pp.

Vol. IX, 1930-1931; 400 pp. (The straw-colored cover began here.)

Vol. X, 1931-1932; 384 pp.

Vol. XI, 1932-1933; 388 pp.

Occupations, the Vocational Guidance Magazine

Published by the National Occupational Conference:

Vol. XII, Eleven issues June, Sept. 1933—June 1934; 7¼" x 9⅞", 96 to 140 pp. each, numbered separately. (The present buff cover was first used at this time.)

Vol. XIII, Ten issues Sept. 1934—June 1935; 880 pp.

Vol. XIV, 1935-1936 (two double issues); 1110 pp.

Vol. XV, 1936-1937; 952 pp.

(Here Harry D. Kitson became Editor.)

Vol. XVI, 1937-1938; 916 pp.

Vol. XVII, 1938-1939; 856 pp.

(Here the Magazine was taken over by the National Vocational Guidance Association.)

Vol. XVIII, Eight issues October 1939—May 1940; 7" x 9¾", 640 pp.

Vol. XIX, 1940-1941; 640 pp.

Vol. XX, 1941-1942.

K. NOTES ON EARLY EDUCATIONAL GUIDANCE

Choice of schools. Quintilian, in his work *De Institutione Oratoria*, which appeared in the year 96 A.D., wrote on the advantages of the public over the private school. Likewise Richard Mulcaster, who in 1561 was chosen first headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School in London, writing on public and private schools in his *Positions*, recommended the public school. He also discussed the age at which a child should be sent to school, what he should learn, whether all children should be sent to school, and similar questions. In 1531, in *De Tradendis Disciplinis*, by Luis Vives (see William Harrison Woodward, *Studies in Education During the Age of the Renaissance*, pages 180f.) advised against the day boarding school, which he said was often run for profit. Like Erasmus he favored a lay school. He recommended home training if no good school was available.

In the early pages of *What Shall My Son Be?* (London, 1870) Francis Davenant pointed out that there is almost unlimited choice as to the size and kind of school to which to send a boy, and stated: "One is bound . . . to discern truly what natural elements are in the boy, and to adapt his education, as far as possible, in accordance with them" (page 2). In *The Intel-*

lectual Life, by Philip Gilbert Hamerton (Boston, 1873) we have a comprehensive guidebook for both young and old, with many observations on education and vocation. Part I of Arthur King's *Our Sons: How to Start Them in Life* (London, 1880) is on how to educate them, and the discussion on the choice of schools is comprehensive. The author says: "The most important secret of education is to choose a profession, and to adapt the education to the profession for which it is meant to fit the pupil" (page 79). He would have the father begin to choose his son's career when the boy is about twelve years of age. Specific information on costs and scholarships for thirty-five English schools is presented, and the author's treatment of the choice of a university is equally specific.

The Choice of a College for a Boy by Charles Franklin Thwing (New York, 1899) discusses the questions of a city or a country college, scholarship, "men before methods," religious influences, the small or the large college, cost, eastern or western college, co-educational or separate, college requirements, the dormitory system, the fraternity question, athletics, student migrations, and specialization. On each of these points he offers helpful advice.

Choice of studies. From time to time, ever since Plato's *Republic*, reasons have been given for studying particular subjects. Montaigne, in *Essays: Of the Education of Children* (circa 1585, page 65), said that history was a profitable study as a discipline for the judgment, whereas Herbert Spencer in *Education* (1861) asserted that for discipline as well as for guidance science is of chiefest value. Such advice influenced parents or guardians in choosing tutors or schools offering the preferred studies, and schoolmasters in planning a curriculum.

Montaigne, quoting from Plutarch's *Apothegms of the Lacedemonians*, reminds one that Agesilaus, on being asked what he thought most proper for boys to learn, replied, "What they ought to do when they become men." Accordingly Montaigne would have us follow Socrates' direction, limiting the studies to those of real utility. Francis Bacon conceived of education as practical and useful. And Phillips Brooks (*Essays and Addresses*, 1894, page 250) said, "We may waste what indignation we will upon the commercial theories of learning, yet the world believes them, is clamoring for them, and they have their beauty and truth."

Should students be permitted to choose their studies? Writings in the decade before 1908 offer criticisms of the tendency to allow high-school and college students to choose their own studies, and seem to indicate the need for guidance such as the educational counselor of today is supplying. We have selected as samples several articles from the *Educational Review*. In a paper on "Educational Methods and Principles of the Nineteenth Century," President Arthur T. Hadley of Yale University pointed out the purpose of allowing choices when he said, referring to secondary schools and colleges, "In place of a common course of study adapted to meet real or supposed public needs, we have witnessed the gradual development of elective courses intended to meet individual wishes at the moment or individual necessities for the future. . . . We are concerned . . . with developing many kinds of education to suit the needs of many types of intellect and calling" (November,

1904). Elmer E. Brown, in "Present Problems in the Theory of Education," placed first among problems in the theory of education "the relation of election to prescription in studies" (January, 1905). Michael E. Sadler, in "Emerson's Influence in Education," wrote that "the elective system of studies, which under President Eliot's authority has worked so great a change in the programs of American universities and secondary schools, is a practical outcome of Emerson's teaching. And this characteristically American theory of school curriculums is beginning to prevail in Europe as well" (December, 1903).

Opposition to free election of studies. Many writers opposed the policy of permitting students to choose their studies, because they were unguided. President William R. Harper of the University of Chicago protested against having elective work in the high school (October, 1902). Of his own college days Charles Francis Adams has said, "I now devoutly wish I had never been allowed a choice. . . . In college days I was about an average student, standing high in only one or two courses. I was an omnivorous reader; and, as I now clearly see, stood greatly in need of friendly counsel and sympathetic guidance. Of it I got absolutely none. I now know well enough what my college course ought to have been,—what it might have been had I been blessed with guidance, wise or kindly" (September, 1906). In the same article he quotes from the *Life of Charles Darwin* by his son and from Darwin's *Autobiography* to explain that Darwin said his time had been wasted at Cambridge because, as he saw later, he did not take the right subjects. Adams continued, "Thus totally disqualified for the wise selection of his own college electives was one of the most remarkable minds England in all its long history has ever produced!"

Many other writers saw the value of providing a variety of studies accompanied by wise guidance in making a selection, among them James E. Russell, David S. Snedden, William E. Chancellor, Samuel T. Dutton, Paul H. Hanus, and Edward L. Thorndike. From the pen of President Eliot, however, came advice to "give pupils their choice under reasonable regulations" and to begin electives certainly by ten years of age! (May, 1903). Eliot seems never to have formulated or grasped the notion of guidance.

Instances of recommending trials before choice of curriculum. In 1901 Nicholas Murray Butler quoted (*The Meaning of Education*, page 207) a recommendation of the Committee of Ten that the choice between a classical and a scientific course be made "after excursions into all the principal fields of knowledge have discovered the boy's tastes and exhibited his qualities." This is an important hint; it would necessitate what are now called orientation, sampling, exploratory, or tryout courses in a "vestibule" at the time of entering the secondary school or college. Again, Edward Everett Hale (in *What Career?* 1878, page 209) wrote, "Two or three of the last years of school have not been badly spent, if they have given such a series of glimpses round the panorama that you can wisely choose which direction you will take for your own journey."

Guidance based on individual differences. Attempts to guide the study activities of students in accordance with their interests and abilities are not all recent. According to William H. Woodward (*Studies in Education During*

the *Age of the Renaissance*, 1906) Vittorino da Feltre left his chair at the University of Padua in 1422 because he could not protect the young from the evils of the city, and at the famous school at Mantua he studied the ability, interest, and future career of each boy and adapted his method accordingly. He was a friendly adviser to parents about the pupils.

In an article on the report of the Committee of Ten, President Eliot said (*Educational Review*, November, 1905):

President Hall emphasizes strongly the great differences in natural ability among children of a democracy, and says that "The very life of a republic depends on bringing these out, on learning how to detect betimes, and give the very best training to, those fittest for leadership." These are sound teachings, not unfamiliar to my own pen for thirty-five years past.

Paul H. Hanus wrote in his book, *Educational Aims and Educational Values* (1900, pages 13, 116, 119), that education must aim to discover capacities, and he referred to the number of "beneficent" plans for permitting pupils to advance as fast as their capacity permits. Many other authors wrote in a similar strain. In 1905 Elmer Elsworth Brown (*Educational Review*, January, 1905) listed in the central group of problems in education "the relation of guidance to spontaneity in methods of instruction." This was a time of conflict between the romanticists, who influenced by Rousseau favored "freedom" for the child, and the conservatives who advocated prescription. Guidance seems to offer a middle way.

Guidance in other aspects of learning. Some thought had been given also to the problem of teaching how to study. When Edward Everett Hale (*What Career?* 1878, pages 80f.) hoped that there might be a course on methods of using intellectual power he may have had this in mind. Samuel T. Dutton devoted a chapter of *School Management* (1904) to the subject of training pupils to study, and William C. Bagley included a section on the subject in *The Educative Process* (1905).

Before 1908 some schoolmen were coming to feel that more guidance in homework was needed. Bagley said that the time spent by the average child in preparing lessons was largely thrown away. He suggested skillful assignments, securing the attention of the pupils, lists of questions made out by pupils, and topical outlines (page 319). Dutton recommended clear and definite assignments and cited as an example the custom of a teacher who devoted one-fourth of each period to assigning and going over the new lesson.

L. SOURCES USED IN THIS STUDY

Most of the documents consulted in this investigation, particularly articles, pamphlets, and books, are listed in the text or in footnotes. The greater number of these printed materials are available in university libraries. The location of rare documents not in the Harvard College Library is noted in the text above, or among the notes below. (To save space we have omitted names of publishers; most books mentioned are no longer on sale.) Facts obtained directly from persons are indicated in the text or noted below.

Other materials, including letters, memorandums, pictures, old pamphlets, first issues of occupational studies, early reports, notes, manuscripts, and other data are to be filed in the Harvard College Library.

Because Harvard inherited the materials arising from the work of Parsons and Bloomfield, and for other reasons, the above collection is probably the most important one on vocational guidance in existence. It is, of course, available for the use of any scholar. Readers are invited to add to it, in the interest of building up an already good collection of historical materials in this important field.

Following are some additional notes on specific chapters; the notes are cumulative and seldom repeat materials already mentioned.

Chapters 1-3. *Early books.* Certain rare books, or first editions of them, are privately owned; some of these were obtained in England. Libraries of Rutgers University, New York City, Boston, and Philadelphia, and the Library of Congress, with its "universal catalogue," yielded important information. The *Dictionary of American Biography* was especially helpful. Correspondence with colleges assisted us.

Chapter 4. *Proposals.* Correspondence with descendants of Mr. Richards, particularly his son Cliff Rodgers Richards, conversations and correspondence with Mr. Merrill, and observation of his school.

Chapter 5. *Parsons.* Much of our material has been drawn from an article by B. O. Flower, "An Economist with Twentieth Century Ideals, Professor Frank Parsons, B.C.E., Ph.D., Educator, Author, and Economist," *The Arena*, August 1908; Frederick J. Allen, "Frank Parsons, Pioneer," in *The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, October 1925; articles in *The World's Work* of September 1908 and in *The Outlook* of September 12, 1908; Parsons' book, *Choosing a Vocation* (1909); and the *Dictionary of American Biography* (article by Percy W. Bidwell).

We are indebted also to many conversations with Frederick J. Allen, Philip Davis, Meyer Bloomfield, the Misses Mary B. and Emma T. Etris of Mount Holly, Professor Hanus, Lincoln Filene, and Henry N. Guterman, and correspondence with Mr. Albertson and with Frank Loxley Griffin, nephew of Parsons. Of chief importance were the files of the Vocation Bureau of Boston. Miss Etris furnished the picture of Parsons.

Chapter 6. *Vocation Bureau.* Our sources are: First, a mass of original papers from the old Vocation Bureau now on file at Harvard University. Second, a group of short statements on history, as in the second chapter of Brewer's *The Vocational-Guidance Movement* (1918); *Vocational Guidance and Junior Placement*, United States Department of Labor (1925); and one or two manuscripts. Third, fragments of history in Bloomfield's first two books, *The Vocational Guidance of Youth* (1911) and *Youth, School, and Vocation* (1915). Fourth, "Vocational Guidance," part of the 25th Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, 1910 (Government Printing Office, 1911). Fifth, correspondence with persons concerned with the period, especially with Mrs. Wheeler and Mr. Albertson.

Chapter 7. *Boston.* Sources are comprised chiefly in the notes and papers of the old Vocation Bureau of Boston, supplemented by printed reports of the Boston School Committee and the superintendents of schools. We are

particularly indebted to Miss Ginn, Thomas D. Ginn, and Miss Wentworth.

Chapter 8. *Cities*. Sources are from the report, *Vocational Guidance and Junior Placement*, U. S. Department of Labor (1925); the manuscript revision of this report, prepared a few years later; the section on *Vocational Guidance* of the 25th Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor (1910); *Vocational Guidance and the Public Schools*, by W. Carson Ryan, Jr., Bureau of Education pamphlet (1919); Twenty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (1924); files of the *Vocational Guidance Bulletin* and its successors; numerous city reports, documents of teachers' associations, extensive correspondence; filed materials on cities, collected by Bloomfield and Allen in the Vocation Bureau of Boston; materials contributed by Anna L. Burdick.

Chapter 9. *States and Federal*. Sources are the documents indicated in the text, supplemented by interviews or correspondence, or both, with about a score of the persons mentioned.

Chapter 10. *Facilities*. Conversations and correspondence with most of the persons mentioned; also with Mrs. May L. Cheney.

Chapter 11. *N. V. G. A.* As sources there are a typewritten copy of the Proceedings of the Boston conference, reports in various issues of the *Vocational Guidance Bulletin* and its successors, and printed reports of the conferences and convention at New York, Grand Rapids, and Richmond. The Grand Rapids report was issued by the United States Bureau of Education as *Vocational Guidance*, Bulletin No. 14 (1914). In addition there were numerous conversations, letters, and personal experiences. Also W. Carson Ryan, Jr., in the March 1926 *Vocational Guidance Magazine*.

Chapters 12 and 13. *Organizations and magazine*. Documents, letters, interviews, and experiences, as indicated in text and footnotes.

Chapter 14. *Counselors and literature*. Sources include college catalogues, announcements, and reports; Frederick J. Allen, "Preliminary Report on the First Year Book of the National Vocational Guidance Association" (ms., 1926); annual reports of the Vocation Bureau of Boston; issues of the Boston *Home and School News-Letter*; and the *Vocational Guidance Bulletin* and its successors.

Chapter 15. *Psychology*. As indicated in text and footnotes. There are historical notes in certain books not listed; e.g., Frank N. Freeman, *Mental Tests, Their History, Principles, and Application* (1939); Walter S. Monroe and others, *Ten Years of Educational Research, 1918-1927* (1928); V. V. Anderson, *Psychiatry in Education* (1932); Rudolf Pintner, *Intelligence Testing* (1931).

Chapter 16. *Other countries*. Our references are too numerous for reproduction here. Chief among them are: Franklin J. Keller and Morris S. Viteles, *Vocational Guidance throughout the World*; G. H. Miles, "Vocational Guidance in Foreign Countries," *Journal of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology*, January 1922; E. Gauthier, "Vocational Guidance," *International Labour Review*, May 1922; other issues of the same *Review*; and various numbers of *The Vocational Guidance Magazine*. A comprehensive list of the references on each of the several countries will be on file in

the Harvard College Library. Personal assistance came from Robert J. Cochrane of Winnipeg and F. P. Gavin of Hamilton, Ontario.

Chapter 17. *Colleges*. References are sufficiently indicated in footnotes, except for items of personal knowledge. Florence Jackson furnished valuable papers.

Chapter 18. *Other forms*. Footnotes are sufficient for this chapter, plus conferences and correspondence with many of the persons named.

Chapters 19 and 20. *N.O.C. and issues*. These chapters are based upon the personal experience of the authors and are sufficiently documented.

Appendix. Materials related to early books have come from the various libraries mentioned above and from the private collections of the author and Dean Clarence E. Partch. The sources of additional data concerning Parsons are indicated above, and we are indebted for additional information to Henry M. Guterman, personal friend of Frank Parsons. Sources on educational guidance and on other matters are sufficiently indicated except for those on placement, which are as follows:

Employment Service News, March 1938, "What We Have Learned about Placement," Roswell Ward; April 1938, "An Experiment in the Placement of Juniors," Marguerite W. Zapoleon; October 1938, "A Placement Service for Teachers," Eleanor G. Suttle; November 1938, "A Study of Junior Applicants in Springfield, Mass.," Amy Hewes; *Public Employment Offices*, Shelby M. Harrison (1924); *Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae*, April 1912, "The Vocational Opportunities of the College of Liberal Arts," Elizabeth Kemper Adams; *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, January 1939, p. 357; *Junior Wage Earners*, Mrs. Anna Y. Reed (1920); *Statistical Procedure of Public Employment Offices*, an analysis of procedure in the various countries, Bryce M. Stewart and A. M. Stewart (Russell Sage Foundation, 1933); *Twenty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part II, Vocational Guidance and Vocational Education for the Industries (1924); U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletins 109 (1913), 241 (1918), 616 (1936); *Employment Agencies in Cincinnati*, Frances R. Whitney (1928); *Employment Bureaus*, William F. Willoughby (1900); correspondence with May L. Cheney of the University of California; unpublished manuscript by Hollis P. Allen, "A Study of Teacher Placement in California" (1925); *The Work of Placement Offices in Teacher Training Institutions*, Whit Brogan (1930). Also correspondence with A. W. Motley, Acting Chief, U. S. Employment Service, and with Hazel M. Lewis, Boston Y.W.C.A.

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